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ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD.

Introduction (W. CROOKE), p. 425.

African.—See BANTUS, etc.

American (S. HAGAR), p. 433.

Aryan.—See ARYAN RELIGION.

Australian.—See AUSTRALIA.

Babylonian (G. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 437.

Celtic (L. H. GRAY), p. 440.

Chinese.—See CHINA.

Egyptian (H. R. HALL), p. 440.

Fijian (B. THOMSON), p. 443.

Greek.—See ÆGEAN and GREEK RELIGION.

Hebrew (G. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 444.

Indian (W. CROOKE), p. 450.

Iranian (E. LEHMANN), p. 454.

Japanese (M. REVON), p. 455.

Jewish (G. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 457.

Letto-Lithuanian.—See Slavonic, p. 466.

Persian.—See Iranian, p. 454.

Polynesian (L. H. GRAY), p. 461.

Roman (J. B. CARTER), p. 461.

Sabæan.—See SABÆANS.

Slavonic (L. LEGER), p. 466.

Tasmanian (L. H. GRAY), p. 461.

Teutonic (H. M. CHADWICK), p. 466.

Ugro-Finnic (K. KROHN), p. 467.

Vedic.—See VEDIC RELIGION.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD.—The worship of the Manes, or ancestors, is, says Tylor (ii. 113), 'one of the great branches of the religion of mankind. Its principles are not difficult to understand, for they plainly keep up the social relations of the living world. The dead ancestor, now passed into a deity, simply goes on protecting his own family and receiving suit and service from them as of old; the dead chief still watches over his own tribe, still holds his authority by helping friends and harming enemies, still rewards the right and sharply punishes the wrong.' In this view of the case the departed ancestor is regarded as invariably kindly and well disposed towards his surviving relatives; and it may be said that this is the usual feeling of savage and barbaric man towards his kinsfolk who have passed into the other world. But there are, as will be seen, exceptions to this general rule; and the question of the attitude of the living towards the dead has formed the subject of controversy between two schools of anthropologists.

1. *The dead regarded as friendly.*—What may be called the totemistic school—that which regards totemism as the main source from which religion has been evolved—dwells specially upon the kindly relations between the deity and his worshippers. Thus, according to W. R. Smith (213-357), primitive sacrifice is an act of communion, the totem animal or beast sacred to the god being slain in order to renew or re-establish the bond of connexion between the clan and its supernatural ally. Hence he rejects the supposition that 'religion is born of fear.' 'However true,' he writes (p. 54), 'it is that savage man feels himself to be environed by innumerable dangers which he does not understand, and so personifies as invisible or mysterious enemies of more than human power, it is not true that the attempt to appease these powers is the foundation of religion. From the earliest times, religion, as distinct from magic or sorcery, addresses itself to kindred and friendly beings, who may indeed be angry with their people for a time, but are always placable except to the enemies of their worshippers or to renegade members of the community. It is not with a vague fear of unknown powers, but with a loving reverence for known gods who are knit to their worshippers by strong bonds of kinship, that religion in the only true sense of the word begins.'

This theory has been extended by Jevons (*Introd. Hist. Rel.* 54 ff.) to the cult of the dead. He contends that primitive man was 'ordinarily and naturally engaged in maintaining such [friendly] relations with the spirits of his deceased clansmen; that he was necessarily led to such relations by the operation of those natural affections which, owing to the prolonged, helpless infancy of the human being, were indispensable to the survival of the human race; and that the relations of the living

clansman with the dead offered the type and pattern, in part, though only in part, of the relations to be established with other, more powerful, spirits.' In support of this position, he contends that the maintenance of the parental instincts and family affection was essential to the survival of primitive man in the struggle for existence; and he quotes instances of the grief felt by the survivors when a death occurs in the family; the provision of food and other necessities for the use of the dead; the retention of the corpse in the dwelling-house for a considerable period after death, or its ultimate burial beside the hearth; the preservation of relics of the departed; the appeals of the mourners to the ghost, imploring it to return home; the adoption of cremation, which frees the soul from the body and thus enables it to revisit its friends; the custom of catching the departing soul; the periodical feasts which the dead are invited to attend; and so on (*op. cit.* 46 f.).

2. *The dead unfriendly to the living.*—On the other hand, the same writer (p. 53) admits that love was not 'the only feeling ever felt for the deceased. On the contrary, it is admitted that fear of the dead was and is equally wide-spread, and is equally "natural." These two apparently opposite modes of thought in relation to the dead he explains by the supposition that primitive man draws a clear line of distinction between the ghost of the kinsman and that of the stranger; the one is kindly and protective, the other malignant, dangerous, and hence an object of fear. 'In fine,' he remarks (*op. cit.* 54), 'as we might reasonably expect, the man who was loved during his lifetime did not immediately cease to be loved even by savages, when he died, nor was he who was feared in life less feared when dead.' The many instances of the savage cult of the dead, when it is prompted by fear, he regards as due to 'mal-observation of the facts of savage life.'

But these cases are so numerous that it is impossible to account for them in this way. Thus it is universally admitted that the spirits of strangers and enemies are inimical, and the same feeling is extended to those who have perished by an untimely death, or in some unusual or tragical way. On this principle Frazer (*GB*³ i. 331) explains the inconvenient restrictions imposed on the victors in their hour of triumph after a successful battle, in obedience to which the warrior is isolated for a period from his family, confined to a special hut, and compelled to undergo bodily and spiritual purification. For the same reason, on the return of the successful head-hunter in Timor, sacrifices are offered to propitiate the soul of the victim whose head has been taken, and it is generally believed that some misfortune would overtake the victor were such offerings omitted. For the same reason, the same feeling is very generally extended to the

ghosts of kindred in the case of children, youths, or maidens snatched away in the prime of their strength and beauty. These are naturally supposed to cherish feelings of jealousy or hatred towards the survivors, who are in the enjoyment of blessings from which they are excluded. The same is the case with the ghosts of women dying in childbirth, who are almost universally regarded as specially dangerous. Equally malignant are the spirits of the murdered man, of one slain by a wild beast, or dying from snake-bite. This feeling is naturally extended to the ghosts of wizards or sorcerers, who were renowned during life on account of the mysterious powers which they were supposed to possess. Thus the Patagonians lived in terror of the souls of their sorcerers, who were believed to become evil demons after death; and the Turanian tribes of N. Asia dread their shamans even more when dead than when alive (Falkner, *Descript. of Patagonia*, 116; Castrén, *Finsk mytologi*, 124; Bastian, *Mensch in der Geschichte*, ii. 406; Karsten, *Origin of Worship*, 110).

Such cases may be easily explained; but the fear of the dead is not confined to spirits of the classes already enumerated. 'Death and life,' writes Tylor (ii. 25), 'dwell but ill together, and from savagery onward there is recorded many a device by which the survivors have sought to rid themselves of household ghosts.' He instances the habit of abandoning the dwelling-house to the ghost, which appears in some cases to be independent of horror, or of abnegation of all things belonging to the dead; and the removal of the corpse by a special door, so that it may not be able to find its way back. In some cases, again, the return of the ghost is barred by physical means. In parts of Russia and East Prussia, after the corpse is removed, an axe or a lock is laid on the threshold, or a knife is hung over the door; and in Germany all the doors and windows are shut, to prevent the return of the ghost. With the same object the Araucanians strew ashes behind the coffin as it is being borne to the grave, so that the ghost may miss the road; and Frazer suggests that the very general practice of closing the eyes of the dead was based upon the same principle, the corpse being blindfolded that it might not see the road by which it was borne to its last home (*JAI* xv. 68 ff.). In India the Aheriyas, after cremating the corpse, fling pebbles in the direction of the pyre to scare the ghost; and in the Himalayas one of the mourners, on returning from the funeral, places a thorny bush on the road wherever it is crossed by another path, and the nearest relative puts a stone on it, and, pressing it down with his feet, prays the spirit of the dead man not to trouble him (Crooke, *Pop. Religion*, ii. 57).

Appeals are often made to the spirit, imploring it not to return and vex its friends. Among the Limbus of Bengal, the officiant at the funeral delivers a brief address to the departed spirit on the general doom of mankind and the inevitable succession of life and death, concluding with an exhortation that he is to go where his fathers have already gone, and not come back to trouble the living in dreams (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 19). Similar appeals are made by the Chinese, Dakotas, and the Karieng (Frazer, *JAI* xv. 65). The Yoruba sorcerer wishes a safe journey to the ghost: 'May the road be open to you; may nothing evil meet you on the way; may you find the road good when you go in peace.' The house of death is abandoned or burned, the deceased is called upon by name, and adjured to depart and not haunt the dwellings of the living (Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, 156, 160). Even in India, a land where the worship of ancestors widely prevails, the Santal believes that the ghostly crowd of spirits

who flit disconsolately among the fields they once tilled, who stand on the banks of the mountain streams in which they fished, and glide in and out of the dwellings where they were born, grew up, and died, require to be pacified in many ways. He dreads, says Hunter, his Lares as much as his Penates (*Annals of Rural Bengal*, 1897, p. 183).

3. *Prevalence of Ancestor-worship.*—In the sectional articles which follow, the character and prevalence of ancestor-worship in various parts of the world will be considered. In Australia it seems to be in little more than an embryonic stage; and the same may be said of New Zealand and Tasmania. Throughout Polynesia and Melanesia the cult is well established. In the Malay Peninsula it appears in the primitive animistic form, influenced by Islām. In the Semitic sphere the evidence for its existence is inconclusive. In Africa it prevails widely among the Bantu tribes, and in W. Africa became the State cult of the kingdoms of Ashanti and Dahomey. The elaborate death cult of the Egyptians was probably largely influenced from the south and west of the continent. In various forms it appears throughout the American region. It is, however, in India and in China, whence it seems to have been carried to Japan, that it appears in the highest vigour.

4. *Worship defined.*—At the outset it is necessary to define with some approach to accuracy what we mean when we speak of the 'worship' of ancestors. There are few races in the world which do not practise what has been called a death cult in some form, that is to say, we notice everywhere in the methods of disposal of the dead, in the funeral rites, and in the solemnities performed either immediately after the removal of the corpse, or subsequently at periodical intervals, one of two predominant ideas. Some people seem to desire to put the dead man out of sight, and thus relieve the survivors from any danger which may result from the hostility of the spirit; in other cases we find the relatives animated by a desire to maintain affectionate or friendly relations with the departed dead, to placate or gratify them, to supply them with food and other necessities needed to maintain them in the new state of life on which they have entered. The latter is probably the most primitive, and is certainly the most general attitude adopted by the survivors. But even if we admit that the survivors do thus endeavour to secure amicable relations with the spirits of their departed friends, and that on occasion they may, in return, solicit their aid and sympathy, we are as yet far from reaching what may be rightly called 'worship' of the dead. 'Religion,' in its narrowest sense, has been defined by Frazer (*GB* i. 63) as 'a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life.' For our present purpose it is on the words in this definition 'superior to man' that the question depends. Savage or barbaric man usually regards his departed relatives as needing his ministrations and aid, rather than thinks that he is dependent upon them for protection and support. He pictures the soul when it leaves the body as a diminutive, feeble entity, which must be carefully protected from injury, and for which a suitable refuge must be provided where it can await the period when it is finally admitted into death-land. Even there, as we see in Homer's *Nekuia*, the common dead are conceived to pass a weak and passionless existence, a feeble imitation of that which they enjoyed on earth. It is only certain heroic souls who acquire a higher degree of strength and vitality, and even they can be roused to meet and converse with their friends on earth only when they lap the blood of the victim from the sacrificial trench. When this conception of the

helpless life of the departed prevails, it is obvious that the loving sympathy and ministrations of the living to the departed do not rise to the dignity of 'worship.'

The distinction, then, between the worship and the placation, or tendance, of the dead is one of great importance, which many of our travellers and observers have failed to appreciate. There are cases in which the dead are worshipped; but those of placation and ministration to the needs of the departed in the other world are much more numerous. In the accounts which follow of the prevalence of this form of worship in various parts of the world, the evidence upon which they are based must be accepted with this preliminary reservation. This distinction, again, if kept steadily in view, will enable us to account in some degree for the remarkable differences of opinion which prevail regarding this form of belief. Hence we must receive with some degree of caution the accounts of travellers who report that certain tribes are exclusively devoted to the worship of their ancestors, or that this form of belief does not exist among them. Two things are liable to cause misconception. In the first place, the veil which the savage hangs round his most cherished beliefs and ritual is so closely woven that casual visitors to a savage or semi-savage tribe, or even persons who have resided amongst them for some time, and have acquired some considerable knowledge of their language and character, find great difficulty in penetrating the mysteries of their religion. In the second place, the death cultus, which ordinarily takes place at the grave, is of necessity a formal and public act, and is likely to be observed and investigated by the casual inquirer, who may remain in complete ignorance of what is really the vital part of the tribal beliefs.

5. *Ancestor-worship the basis of human religion.*—The theory which suggests that the cult of ancestors is the basis of all human religion is usually associated with the name of H. Spencer. This writer begins his summary of the conclusions at which he has arrived, by dealing with what may be called the hero cult. 'Anything,' he writes, 'which transcends the ordinary, a savage thinks of as supernatural or divine; the remarkable man among the rest. This remarkable man may be simply the remotest ancestor remembered as the founder of the tribe; he may be a chief famed for strength or bravery; he may be a medicine-man of great repute; he may be an inventor of something new. And then, instead of being a member of the tribe, he may be a superior being bringing arts or knowledge; or he may be one of a superior race predominating by conquest. Being at first one or other of these, regarded with awe during his life, he is regarded with increased awe after his death; and the propitiation of his ghost, becoming greater than the propitiation of ghosts less feared, develops into an established worship' (*Principles of Sociology*, i. 411).

This view of the hero cult may be accepted with some reservation. In the first place, there are grounds for believing that fear is not the only, or even the primary, reason for the deification of the hero. The cult of the distinguished dead was often founded, not so much upon awe as upon the desire of the survivors to maintain friendly relations with the spirits of the departed (Jevons, *Introd.* 106). Secondly, in those parts of the world where the hero cult is developed to its highest form, the devotion paid to the hero is of a degree inferior to that of the regular gods, who are often nature spirits, and not necessarily ghosts of the dead. This distinction is clearly marked in Greece, where the cult of Heracles or Asklepios is of a lower grade than that of deities like Athene or Zeus. The ritual of

hero-worship is also clearly different from that used in the worship of the gods. The same is the case in India, where heroes like Rāma or Krishna, who have been elevated to the rank of gods, are found sheltering themselves as *avatāras*, or incarnations, of a great nature deity like Vishnu.

But Spencer goes much further than to recognize a cult of the deified hero. Following the passage already quoted, he goes on to say: 'Using the phrase ancestor-worship in its broadest sense as comprehending all worship of the dead, be they of the same blood or not, we conclude that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion.' Even the most downright upholders of the Spencerian hypothesis are unable to accept it when thus extended. Thus Grant Allen (*Evolution of the Idea of God*, 36) observes: 'I do not wish to insist that every particular and individual god, national or naturalistic, must necessarily represent a particular ghost, the dead spirit of a single definite once-living person. It is enough to show, as Mr. Spencer has done, that the idea of the god, and the worship paid to the god, are directly derived from the idea of the ghost, and the offerings made to the ghost, without holding, as Mr. Spencer seems to hold, that every god is, and must be, in ultimate analysis the ghost of a particular human being.' And in another passage (*ib.* 42) he writes: 'Religion has one element within it still older, more fundamental than any mere belief in a god or gods—namely, even than the custom or practice of supplicating and appeasing ghosts or gods by gifts and observance. That element is the conception of the Life of the Dead. On the primitive belief in such life all religion ultimately bases itself. The belief is, in fact, the earliest thing to appear in religion, for there are savage tribes who have nothing worth calling gods, but have still a religion or cult of their dead relatives.' Elsewhere, in discussing the cult of Attis, he seems to suggest that the tree-spirit and the corn-spirit originate in the ghost of the deified ancestor (*Attis*, 33 and *passim*).

Needless to say, these views have not met with general acceptance. Thus Hartland (*Legend of Perseus*, i. 203) regards this Euhemerism of Spencer as 'a child (one among many) of his passion for explaining everything quite clearly, for stopping up all gaps and stubbing up all difficulties in his synthesis, rather than an all-sufficient account of the beginnings of religion.' Lang (*Myth, Ritual and Religion*, ed. 1899, i. 308 f.) attacks what he calls 'the current or popular anthropological theory of the evolution of gods,' on various grounds. He finds in this hypothesis a 'pure Euhemerism. Gods are but ghosts of dead men, raised to a higher and finally to the highest power.' Analogous to this, but not identical, is the theory of Tylor (*ii.* 334), which suggests that 'man first attains to the idea of spirit by reflexion on various physical, psychological, and psychical experiences, such as sleep, dreams, trances, shadows, hallucinations, breath and death, and he gradually extends the conception of soul or ghost till all nature is peopled with spirits. Of these spirits one is finally promoted to supremacy, where the conception of a supreme being occurs.' To this combined animistic and ghostly theory Lang replies (*ib.* i. 310) that all gods are not necessarily of animistic origin. 'Among certain of the lowest savages, although they believe in ghosts, the animistic conception, the spiritual idea, is not attached to the relatively supreme being of their faith. He is merely a powerful *being*, unborn, and not subject to death. The purely metaphysical question, "Was he a ghost?" does not seem always to have been asked. Consequently there is no logical reason why man's idea of a Maker should not be prior to man's idea that there are such things as souls, ghosts and spirits. Therefore the animistic theory is not necessary as material for the "god-

idea." We cannot, of course, prove that the "god-idea" was historically prior to the "ghost-idea," for we know no savages who have a god and yet are ignorant of ghosts. But we can show that the idea of God may exist, in germ, without explicitly involving the idea of spirit. Thus gods may be prior in evolution to ghosts, and therefore the animistic theory of the origin of gods in ghosts need not necessarily be accepted.' Secondly, he urges that, in all known savage theological philosophy, the God, the Maker and Master, is regarded as a being who existed before death came into the world. Everywhere death is looked on as a comparatively late intruder, who entered this world not only after God was active, but after it had been populated by men and beasts. 'Thus the relatively supreme being, or beings, of religion are looked on as prior to Death, therefore, not as ghosts.' Thirdly, the Vui of Melanesia and the Atua of the Tongans are 'beings, anthropomorphic, or (in myth and fable) very often bestial, "theriomorphic." It is manifest that a divine being envisaged thus need not have been evolved out of the theory of spirits or ghosts, and may even have been prior to the rise of the belief in ghosts.' Fourthly, as among the Andamanese, Fuegians, and Australians, 'these powerful, or omnipotent divine beings are looked on as guardians of morality, punishers of sin, rewarders of righteousness, both in this world and in a future life, in places where ghosts, though believed in, are not worshipped, nor in receipt of sacrifice, and where, great-grandfathers being forgotten, ancestral ghosts can scarcely swell into gods.' Such gods, not receiving sacrifice, 'lack the note of descent from hungry food-craving ghosts.' If to this it be replied that the Australians are degenerate and must once have had chiefs or kings whose surviving ghosts have become their gods, he answers that there is no evidence of Australian degeneration. They have, on the contrary, advanced 'when they supersede their beast or other totem by an eponymous human hero.' Lastly, the theory being thus found inadequate to explain the facts of the lowest 'savage' religions, it is equally inapplicable to the 'barbarian' stage of culture. Here we often find a highest deity who is seldom worshipped with sacrifice, who has become otiose, a mere name, finally a jest and a mockery; while 'ancestral ghosts, and gods framed on the same lines as ghosts, receive sacrifice of food and of human victims.' Besides this, the higher barbarian gods are localized, which is not the case with the high gods of low savages. This 'break or flaw in the strata of religion' he explains by 'the evolution through ghosts of "animistic" gods who retained the hunger and selfishness of these ancestral spirits whom the lowest savages are not known to worship.' Such gods, needing constant sacrifices, are easily bribed to overlook the moral delinquencies of their worshippers, or to forgive their sins. Thus animism 'is on its way to supplant or overlay a rude early form of theism,' and thus the current theory, which makes the highest god the latest in evolution from a ghost, breaks down. The tribal or national deity, as latest in evolution, ought to be the most powerful, whereas among barbarians he is 'usually the most disregarded.' This line of argument may be accepted without admitting the implication that monotheism is a primitive form of belief, and it is to this extent valid against the Spencerian hypothesis.

As for the gods of nature, it is difficult to understand how the belief in them could have arisen through an ancestor-cult. It is possibly true, as Ellis (*op. cit.* 282) observes, that they are sometimes blended with ghost-gods; 'the reverence paid to certain rivers, rocks, cliffs, etc., must have often dated from some fatal accident that occurred in connexion with them. It was this which first at-

tracted attention, and primitive man would not be likely to discriminate between the ghost of the victim, which would haunt the spot where the latter lost his life, and the indwelling spirit of the natural feature.' But such cases could never have been common, and the reverence paid to any abnormal feature of natural scenery would generally be quite independent of any association with a ghost. Still more is this the case with gods of sky, sun, moon, wind, or rainbow. The animism which leads to the worship of phenomena like these cannot depend upon, and may be earlier than, the belief in the survival of the soul after death.

6. *Ancestors oracular.*—Ancestral spirits are believed to be able to give oracles to their descendants, who consult them in times of danger or trouble. At certain places deep chasms or openings in the earth were observed, through which the shades could rise from their subterranean home, and give responses to the living. The Greeks called such places oracles of the dead (*νεκρομαντείον, ψυχομαντείον, ψυχοσπονδαίον*). The most ancient oracle of this kind was that of Thesprotia, where Periander succeeded in conjuring up and questioning the ghost of his murdered wife, Melissa (Herod. v. 92; Paus. ix. 30. 3). There was another at Phigalia in Arcadia (Paus. iii. 17. 8, 9), and Italy possessed one at Lake Avernus (Diod. iv. 22; Strabo, v. 244). The regular mode of consulting such oracles was to offer up a sacrifice and then to sleep in the sacred place. The soul of the dead man then appeared to the sleeper in a dream, and gave his answer (Frazer, *Paus.* iii. 243). The same belief is found in many forms in other parts of the world. In Melanesia, 'after a burial they would take a bag and put Tahitian chestnut and scraped banana into it. Then a new bamboo some ten feet long was fixed to the bag, and tied with one end in the mouth of it, and the bag was laid upon the grave, the men engaged in the affair holding the bamboo in their hands. The names of the recently dead were then called, and the men holding the bamboo felt the bag become heavy with the entrance of the ghost, which then went up from the bag into the hollow of the bamboo. The bamboo and its contents being carried into the village, the names of the dead were called over to find out whose ghost it was. When wrong names were called, the free end of the bamboo moved from side to side, and the other was held tight. At the right name the end moved briskly round and round. Then questions were put to the enclosed ghost, Who stole such a thing? Who was guilty in such a case? The bamboo pointed of itself at the culprit if present, or made signs as before when names were called. This bamboo, they say, would run about with a man if he had it only lying on the palms of his hands; but it is remarked by my native informants, though it moved in men's hands it never moved when no one touched it' (Codrington, *Melanesians*, 211 f.). Among the Akikuyas of E. Africa, the medicine-man holds converse only with those recently dead, whose lives he had been unable to save. He goes out and visits the corpse when it has been thrown out into the jungle. He pours 'medicine' upon its hands, and calls on it to rise. When it rises, the wizard says: 'Reville your father, mother, and brothers.' It does so, and after the wizard has thrown more 'medicine' upon it, the conversation ceases. Persons so reviled get sick and die (*JAI* xxxiv. 292). In S. Africa the wizard in the same way gets into communication with the spirit world, and delivers oracles in the form of riddles and dark parables (*ib.* xx. 120). The Dayaks sometimes, like the Greeks, seek communion with the ancestral spirits by sleeping at their graves in the hope of getting some benefit from them (Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*,

i. 211). In Australia some specially gifted seers are able to see the disembodied spirit sitting on the spot where its body lies buried, and no longer able to retire into its accustomed habitation (*JAI* xvi. 54). In Lapland, according to Scheffer (Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, ii. 477), the Lapps buried their dead in caves, sacrificed a reindeer in honour of the dead, and fasted for three days after the burial. When offering the sacrifice, they inquired the will of the Sitte or ancestral ghosts. They said: 'O ye Sitte, what will ye have?' Then they used to beat a drum on which a ring was laid, and if the ring fell on any creature pictured on its surface, they understood that this was what the spirit desired. They then took the animal thus selected, ran through its ear and tied round its horn a black woollen thread, and sacrificed it. Sometimes the wizard pretends to go in person to death-land to consult the ancestral spirits. Among the Dayaks he possesses a charm which ensures the aid of a kindly spirit when he goes to Sabayan, the under world, in search of the soul of a sick man (*JAI* xxxiii. 81). The Melanesians tell a similar story of a woman who went to Panoi to consult the dead, and the Australian wizard is able to bring back news from the dead, or he ascends the sky, visits Daramulun, and obtains magical power from him (*ib.* x. 283, xiii. 195). In W. Africa the Yoruba priest takes a young child, bathes his face in the 'water of purification,' and digs a hole in the earth within the sacred grove at midnight. When the child looks into the hole, he is able to see Dead-land, and can tell the priest what he sees. When his face is washed a second time, he forgets all that has happened (Ellis, *op. cit.* 141). Such powers, often gained under the influence of fasting, are claimed by shamans all over the world (Tylor, ii. 410 f.).

7. *Disease, etc., caused by ancestral spirits.*—When the attention of a tribe is fixed on the cultus of ancestors, it becomes a natural inference that disease or other misfortune is due to neglect of their worship. In Celebes, all sickness is ascribed to the ancestral spirits who have carried off the soul of the patient (Frazer, *GB* i. 265). This reminds us of the Greek conception of the Keres and Harpies (Harrison, *Proleg.* 176 ff.). In the same way, wrathful ancestors are supposed to cause tempests; the thunder is their voice. In Peru, when parents who have lost a child hear thunder within three months of the death, they go and dance on the grave, howling in response to each clap, apparently believing that they hear the sighs and groans of their lost child in the rumble of the thunder (Frazer, *Lect. on Kingship*, 206 f.). In some cases the wrath of the spirit is attributed to causes which we can only regard as frivolous. In Natal we hear of a diviner announcing to his people that the spirits had caused disease because they did not approve of some persons living in the kraal of a relative, and wished them to have a house of their own (*JAI* i. 181). Sometimes, again, the spirit is provoked on account of a sin committed by his people. Among the Banyoros of Uganda, the death of a man by lightning is attributed to the anger of the Bachwezi, or ancestral spirits, on account of some sin committed by the dead man, or wrong-doing on the part of members of the clan. To appease them, a sacrifice is demanded (Johnston, *Uganda*, ii. 539 f.). In Florida, according to Codrington, 'it is a *tindalo*, that is, a ghost of power, that causes illness; it is a matter of conjecture which of the known *tindalos* it may be. Sometimes a person has reason to think, or fancies, that he has offended his dead father, uncle, or brother. In that case no special intercession is required; the patient himself or one of the family will sacrifice, and beg the *tindalo* to take the sick-

ness away; it is a family affair.' But if the *tindalo* be that of a stranger, a doctor is called in to identify and propitiate it (Codrington, *Melanesians*, 194 f.). But generally the cause of offence to the spirit is that the relatives have neglected its wants. When a North American Indian fell into the fire, he believed that the spirits of his ancestors pushed him in because their worship was neglected (Schoolcraft, i. 39). Often, again, it is caused by jealousy of the spirits towards the living, or it arises because the ghosts are lonely in Dead-land and desire companionship. For this reason spirits which have recently departed this life are apt to carry off with them to the world of the dead the souls of their surviving relatives (Frazer, *GB* ii. 345 f.). Miss Kingsley was assured that the danger of the ancestral ghost's injuring the members of the family, particularly children, 'comes not from malevolence, but from loneliness and the desire to have their company. . . . This desire for companionship is, of course, immensely greater in the spirit that is not definitely settled in the society of spiritdom, and it is therefore more dangerous to its own belongings, in fact, to all living society, while it is hanging about the other side of the grave, but this side Hades' (*W. African Studies*, 133). Ellis, from whom Miss Kingsley probably borrowed the fact, says that ancestors cause sickness because the ghost wants the services of his relatives in Dead-land, and so hastens their departure from this world (*Ever-speaking Peoples*, 109). It is a common belief that the spirits of people who have died a violent death may return to earth if they can find a substitute, and hence they are offended with any one who prevents another soul from taking his place by rescuing a person from drowning (Black, *Folk Medicine*, 28 f.). In Ireland, according to Lady Wilde, 'it is believed that the spirit of the dead last buried has to watch in the churchyard until another corpse is laid there, or to perform menial offices in the spirit world, such as carrying wood and water, till the next spirit comes from earth. They are also sent on messages to earth, chiefly to announce the coming death of some relative, and at this they are glad, for their own time of peace and rest will come at last' (*Ancient Legends, etc., of Ireland*, 1887, 82 f.). So in China 'it is commonly believed that if the spirit of a murdered man can secure the violent death of some one else, he returns to earth as if nothing had happened, the spirit of his victim passing into the world below and suffering all the misery of a disembodied spirit in his stead' (Giles, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, 1880, ii. 365). Fortunately, however, the patient is not always left to the mercy of the spirits of his enraged relatives. In San Cristoval, it was believed that the friendly and unfriendly ghosts fight with spears over the sick man. The patient would suffer, die, or keep his health according to the issue of this unseen spectral battle (Codrington, *op. cit.* 196).

8. *Ancestors appearing in children.*—The belief that the child is nothing more or less than an ancestor re-born on earth is found almost throughout the world. The idea, of course, depends upon the resemblance of members of the same family in successive generations. It is the basis of the extraordinary theory held by the Arunta tribe in Central Australia regarding conception, and among the northern tribes of the same continent every new child is believed to be the incarnation or re-incarnation of spirit children left by remote ancestors (Spencer-Gillen*, 51 f., 337; *FL* xv. 467). Among the Thlinkets of N. America, the spirit was 'believed to have the option of returning to this life, and generally entered the body of a female relative to form the soul of a coming infant. If the child resembled a deceased friend or rela-

tion, this embodiment was at once recognized, and the name of the dead person was given to it' (Bancroft, *Native Races*, iii. 517). In the same region the Nootkas accounted for the existence of a distant tribe speaking the same language as themselves by declaring them to be the re-incarnated spirits of their dead (*ib.* iii. 514). In W. Africa the Yorubas inquire of their family god which of the deceased ancestors has returned, in order to name the child after him, and its birth is greeted with the words 'Thou art come,' as if addressing some one who has returned; and their neighbours, the Ewe, believe that the only part of its body which a child receives from its mother is the lower jaw, the rest being derived from the ancestral spirit (Ellis, *op. cit.* 120, 131). The same procedure in naming children appears among the Khonds of India, where the priest drops grains of rice into a cup of water, naming with each grain a deceased ancestor. From the movement of the seed in the water and from observation of the child's person he decides which ancestor has re-appeared in it, and the name is usually given accordingly. Hence we can explain why in the islands of Watabela, Aaru, and the Sula Archipelago barren women and their husbands visit certain sacred graves to pray for offspring—the spirits of the sainted dead being thus re-incarnated (Ploss, *Das Weib*, 1887, i. 436 ff.). The same belief appears in W. Europe in the habit of young girls in the Pyrenees going to a dolmen to pray for a lover, and young brides for a child; in the erotic superstitions connected with rude stone monuments in Spain, Brittany, and Ireland; and in the cycle of Irish legend connected with the bed of Dermot and Grania (Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, 580, 689, 845 f.). This leads immediately to the theory of metempsychosis, which is generally accepted among primitive races. In India it is doubtful whether this belief appears in the Vedas, but it is admitted in the later Purāṇic literature, and at the present day in the Panjāb it is quite logically accepted to explain the fact that, as the soul is transmitted from generation to generation, so with the life are transferred all attributes and powers of the progenitor. Hence we have numerous instances here of the transmission of the hereditary powers of curing disease or causing evil which are believed to be found in certain clans and families. 'This principle of inherited supernatural powers or sanctity is much more deeply rooted than that of caste. It is natural and fitting that a man should follow his father's trade, but he may change his occupation. . . . When once sanctity has been acquired by a family, it is next to impossible to shake it off. Social status is much less permanent. The original conception of the metempsychosis appears then to have been that the life or soul, with all its attributes, was transmitted by natural descent. This idea was developed into the doctrine that the soul transmigrated from one body to another independently of such descent, but this doctrine did not regard transmigration as something fitful and uncertain; on the contrary, religion held that it was subject to one set of rules, and magic that it could be regulated, but in neither sense was transmigration a matter of chance' (Rose, *Census Report, Panjāb*, 1901, i. 161 ff.). But, as Hartland remarks (*op. cit.* i. 220), 'the subtlety of savage metaphysics is marvellous. An acute observer points out that among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast, and the Ewe-speaking tribes of the Slave Coast, a distinction is drawn between the ghostly self that continues the man's existence after death in the spirit-world, and his *kra* or *ñoli*, which is capable of being born again in a new human body. In the eastern Ewe districts and in Dahomey the soul is, by either an inconsistency or a subtlety, believed

to remain in the land of the dead and to animate some new child of the family at one and the same time; but it never animates an embryo in a strange family.'

9. *Ancestor-worship and Totemism.*—The question of the relation of ancestor-worship to totemism has recently been discussed by Tylor, Hartland, and Frazer. Tylor (*JAI* xxviii. 146 f.) quotes from Wilken (*Het Animisme bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel*, 1884-85, pt. i. p. 74 f.) cases of crocodiles being regarded as kindly and protective beings, to kill which is considered murder, as they may be man's near relatives. Offerings are made to them, and people look forward to the great blessedness of becoming crocodiles when they die. In the same way Sumatrans worship tigers, and call them ancestors. Some of the non-Aryan tribes of the central Indian hills believe that the ancestor is sometimes re-born in a calf, which in consequence of this connexion is well fed and treated with particular respect (Crooke, *Popular Religion*, i. 179). On this Tylor thus comments: 'Wilken sees in this transmigration of souls the link which connects totemism with ancestor-worship, and on considering his suggestion, we may see how much weight is to be given to the remarks made independently by Dr. Codrington as to Melanesia (*op. cit.* 32 f.). He found that the people in Ulawa would not eat or plant bananas, because an influential man had prohibited the eating of the banana after his death because he would be in it; the elder natives would say, we cannot eat so-and-so, and after a few years they would have said, we cannot eat our ancestor. . . . As to such details we may, I think, accept the cautious remark of Dr. Codrington, that in the Solomon Islands there are indeed no totems, but what throws light on them elsewhere. The difficulty in understanding the relation of a clan of men to a species of animals or plants is met by the transmigration of souls, which bridges over the gap between the two, so that the men and the animals become united by kinship and mutual alliance; an ancestor having lineal descendants among men and sharks, or men and owls, is thus the founder of a totem-family, which mere increase may convert into a totem-clan, already provided with its animal name. By thus finding in the world-wide doctrine of soul-transference an actual cause producing the two collateral lines of man and beast which constitute the necessary framework of totemism, we seem to reach at last something analogous to its real cause.'

Following on this discussion, Hartland considers the whole question in connexion with the tribes of S. Africa. He notices that the only branches of the Bantu race among which no certain traces of totemism and but few of mother-right are found are the Amazulus and their kindred tribes, the most advanced of the whole Bantu race. The Bechuanas, on the contrary, exhibit substantial remnants of totemism, and with them traces of mother-right. Thus in the lowest social stage of these races totemism is still flourishing, and patriarchal and pastoral institutions are struggling with it. Totemism is here, in fact, developing into ancestor-worship (Frazer, *Man*, i. 136), and the question is—How has ancestor-worship developed and supplanted totemism? This question Hartland answers by suggesting that it is entirely dependent upon the growth of the patriarchal system. 'The more absolute becomes the power of the head of a nation, and under him of the subordinate chiefs and the heads of families, the more the original totemism superstitions tend to disappear until they are altogether lost and forgotten.'

The same process seems to be going on in other parts of the world. Thus, in Yam, one of the islands in Torres Straits, the animal kindred come

to be replaced by a definite effigy, the soul of which is kept in an external receptacle, and the effigy is further associated with a hero (Haddon, *Cambridge Exped.* v. 377f.; *Head-hunters*, 138). Haddon regards this materialization of a totem as unique; 'so important a development of totemism is practically to place it beyond the realm of pure totemism.' We find something of the same kind in a totem-post from British Columbia, where, as Tylor remarks, 'the figures go beyond mere representations of the totem animals, and depict a mythic incident in which the human ancestor is believed to have come into relation with the animal which was thence adopted as the totem of the clan' (*JAI* xxviii. 136). The development of totemism into ancestor-worship is also illustrated by the case of the Bhuiya tribe in Bengal. They show great reverence for the memory of Rikhmun or Rikhiāsan, whom they regard, some as a patron deity, others as a mythical ancestor, whose name distinguishes one of the divisions of the tribe. Risley believes it possible that in the earliest stage of belief Rikhmun was the bear-totem of a sept of the tribe, that later on he was transformed into an ancestral hero, and finally promoted to the rank of a tribal god (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, i. 112).

With our present limited knowledge of the origin and development of totemism, which may at any time be revolutionized by fresh information from the Australian or other primitive tribes, it would be premature here to do more than quote these examples of ancestor-worship developing out of totemism, with the more or less plausible explanations which have been suggested to account for it.

10. *Ancestor-worship and Idolatry.*—We have more satisfactory evidence of the development of ancestor-worship into idolatry, a term not in itself satisfactory, but preferable to that of 'fetishism,' which possesses no scientific value. The practice of erecting carved representations of deceased ancestors is one of the many sources from which the idol was probably evolved. Its analogue is to be found in the primitive stone pillar, in which the god was manifested when blood was sprinkled upon it (Jevons, *Introd.* 133). This custom of erecting memorial images is very common in Melanesia and the adjoining region. At Santa Cruz, 'when a man of distinction dies, his ghost becomes a *duka*. A stock of wood is set up in his house to represent him. This remains, and is from time to time renewed, until the man is forgotten, or the stock neglected by the transference of attention to some newer or more successful *duka*.' Offerings are made to it in times of danger at sea, at the planting of a garden, on recovery from sickness, when fruit is laid before it (Codrington, *op. cit.* 139). In the Solomon Islands, if a person of great consequence dies, 'a figure may be made of him after his death, for the ornamentation of a canoe-house, or of a stage put up at great feasts. These images are hardly idols, though food may sometimes be put before them, though to remove them would be thought to bring down punishment from the dead man upon those who should so insult him' (*ib. JAI* x. 302). In Ambrym, however, the large figures screened with bamboos, which would naturally be taken for idols, are set up in memory of persons of importance at a great feast perhaps a hundred days after death. 'That they do not represent ancestors is fairly certain; the very oldest can be but a few years old' (*JAI* x. 294). They generally represent figures of men, who would be loosely called ancestors by the powerful people of the village, and these would be treated with respect, food being placed before them. 'But these had no sacred character, further than that they were memorials of great men, whose ghosts, visiting their accustomed abodes, would be pleased

at marks of memory and affection, and irritated by disrespect. There was no notion of the ghost of the dead man taking up his abode in the image, nor was the image supposed to have any supernatural efficacy in itself.'

In the New Hebrides, a model of the dead chief is made of bamboo; the head is smeared over with clay, shaped and painted so as to be often a fair likeness of the deceased, and placed on the bamboo model, the whole image being set up in the god's house or temple, with the weapons and personal effects of the dead man. Boyd, who describes these images (*JAI* xi. 78, 81), is doubtful whether they are objects of affectionate regard or of worship, and Somerville (*ib.* xxiii. 21, 392) does not ascribe any religious character to them. But it is obvious that an image set up as a memorial and propitiated with offerings of food may very easily develop into an idol. Haddon (*Head-hunters*, 91) describes similar models in wax on skulls of deceased relatives. They seem to be kept mainly for sentimental reasons, as the people are of an affectionate disposition, and like to have memorials of departed friends; but they are employed mainly as *zagos*, or potent instruments of divination by which a thief, stolen goods, or a person who by means of sorcery had made any one sick, should be detected. The model was taken in procession, and was believed to be able to guide him who bore it to the house of the offender. There is much difference of opinion regarding similar images from Easter Island, some denying that they are worshipped; others alleging that they represent chiefs and persons of note, and that they are given a place at feasts and ceremonies; others, again, suggesting that they are used for purposes of divination. In the case of a rude cultus like this it is possible that all three suggestions may represent the varying conditions of the devotion paid to them (*Man*, iv. 73f.). In New Guinea the explorers found two roughly carved wooden men, with bushy hair on their heads. When asked to sell them, the natives said: 'No. They belong to our ancestors, and we cannot part with them' (Chalmers-Gill, *Work and Adventure*, 229).

In India the use of such images seems to be largely based on the principle of providing a refuge for the ghost during the period which elapses between death and the completion of the funeral rites. Among the lowest castes in North India a reed is very generally fixed for this purpose near a tank, and water libations are poured upon it during the days of mourning. Woodthorpe (*JAI* xi. 65) describes the curious images erected by the Nāgas of the N.E. frontier over their graves. These are sometimes executed with much skill, the wrists and elbow-joints indicated, emerald beetle wings representing the eyes and a row of white seeds the teeth. 'They were clad in all the garments of the deceased, with their shields fixed on the left side, two imitation bamboo spears standing on the right.' The Khariyas, according to Dalton (*Descriptive Ethnology*, 160), make images of the same kind. In South India the Nāyars make an image of the dead man out of palmyra leaf, and to this rice and other things are offered (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 248). Among the Kāfirs of the Hindu-kush the veneration paid to images of this kind seems to amount to actual worship. Sacrifices are made before them, and their descendants, when suffering from sickness, sprinkle blood upon their pedestals. A straw figure of a warrior is venerated at his funeral, and effigies of the honoured dead are erected over their graves (Robertson, *Kafirs of Hindu-kush*, 414, 635, 648).

The Ostiaks of Siberia make similar figures. Among them the effigy is 'worshipped with divine adoration for such a period of time as may be

determined by the Shaman or priest, not exceeding, however, three years, when the image is buried. Offerings of food are set before it at every meal; and if it represents a deceased husband, the widow embraces it from time to time, and lavishes upon it tokens of affectionate and passionate attachment. The image of a deceased Shaman is preserved from generation to generation; and 'by pretended oracular utterances and other artful impositions the priests manage to procure pious offerings as abundant as those laid on the altars of the acknowledged gods' (Featherman, *Ugro-Turanians*, 559, 575).

In America the same practice is well established. Of the Cemis or images raised by the aborigines of Hispaniola, Ferdinand Columbus states: 'They give the image a name, and I believe it is their father's or grandfather's, or both, for they have more than one, and some above ten, all in memory of their forefathers' (*JAI* xvi. 260). The grave-posts, roughly hewn into an image of the dead, appear among many tribes of the American Indians (Dorman, *Prim. Superstition*, 177 ff.). The Similkameen Indians of British Columbia place carved figures representing the dead on their graves. These are dressed in the clothes of the dead man, and when decayed are renewed (*JAI* xxi. 313). The Sioux set up a grave-post, recording the totem of the deceased warrior, with a record of his warlike expeditions and of the number of scalps taken by him, of which Schoolcraft gives illustrations (i. 356).

In Africa the Lindu, a forest tribe, have a distinct form of ancestor-worship, and are accustomed to remember the dead by placing roughly-carved dolls, supposed to represent the deceased person, in the abandoned hut in which he is buried (Johnston, *Uganda*, ii. 555). Miss Kingsley (*Travels*, 473) records a case where, on the death of a twin, an image of the child was carried about by the survivor as a habitation for the soul, so that it might not have to wander about, and being lonely call its companion to follow it.

When we come to races in a higher grade of culture, we find survivals of the same practice. The Roman noble exhibited in the wings which opened from his central hall the *imagines* or likenesses of his revered forefathers, which are believed to have been originally portrait-masks to cover the faces of the dead. These at funerals were fitted on to the faces of the actors who represented the dead man's ancestors, and when kept in the house were probably attached to busts (Smith, *Dict. Ant.*³ ii. 992 ff.). The actors with these masks were seated on chairs of dignity at the funeral rites (Granger, *Worship of the Romans*, 65).

II. *Ancestor-worship in relation to the family.*—Ancestor-worship is primarily a family cult, based on the desire of the survivors to maintain friendly relations with the departed. But the family is a comparatively modern institution, and behind the modern family, organized on the principle of the maintenance of the *patria potestas* and succession in the male line, there is a long past, when possibly promiscuity and certainly polyandry or group-marriage, with the natural accompaniment of succession in the female line, must have prevailed. This is not the place to discuss the priority of father-right and mother-right. In Australia, at any rate, group-marriage is found to prevail where mother-right exists, and it is difficult to imagine how it could have arisen under conditions of father-right. Hence ancestor-worship cannot be regarded as a highly primitive belief. Jevons (*op. cit.* 194) is on less sure ground when he argues that it could not have arisen before the time when agriculture was started as the main industry of the human race. 'Originally,' he urges, 'the dead were supposed to suffer from

hunger and thirst as the living do, and to require food—for which they were dependent on the living. Eventually the funeral feasts were interpreted on the analogy of those at which the gods feasted with their worshippers—and the dead were now no longer dependent on the living, but on a level with the gods. . . . It could not therefore have been until agricultural times that the funeral feast came to be interpreted on the analogy of the sacrificial feast.' It would, however, be unsafe to infer that the cult of ancestors is confined to tribes organized on the patriarchal system. Thus in South India the custom of tracing descent through the female seems to have widely prevailed, and the Nāyars, who still maintain this rule, are ancestor-worshippers. This they have not borrowed from the Hindus, but it has been derived by them from the primitive animism (Fawcett, *Bulletins Madras Museum*, iii. 157, 247, 253, 273). The same is the case with many of the lower castes in Northern India, among whom survivals of matriarchy can easily be traced, and with certain Melanesian races, who combine an ancestral cult with descent in the female line; as, for instance, the Pelew Islanders, the Ipalaos of the Caroline Archipelago, the Chamorres of the Ladrões, and the Bīaras of New Britain (Kubary, *Pelauer*, 39; Featherman, *Op. Mel.* 356, 358, 396, 401, *Pap. Mel.* 52 ff.).

12. *Social Results of Ancestor-worship.*—It remains to consider briefly the effect of ancestor-worship on the social condition of the races which practise it. In the case of Japan, a writer in the *Times* (20th Nov. 1905) remarks: 'It is not difficult even for Europeans to understand how strong is the foundation, both for national and dynastic loyalty, which such a faith affords. It ensures that the whole Japanese people, from the highest to the lowest, shall ever bear in mind the existence and the strength of the innumerable ties which knit the present to the past. It is at once a safeguard against violent revolution and a guarantee of gradual progress. It is a conception which we cannot perhaps easily grasp in its fulness, but we can readily acknowledge its nobility and its simplicity, and we can feel how great and precious a factor it may be in moulding the hearts and minds of a nation.' To the same belief the sanctity of the household and, as a consequence, the inviolability of marriage, have been much indebted. The strong desire of every man to leave a son competent to perform the rites on which the happiness of his ancestors and of himself depended was one of the main foundations of that family life which is the basis of modern society, and, except in countries like India, where it conflicted with the prejudices of the priestly class, tended to raise the status of woman. On the other hand, in the ruder stages of society, the belief that the unappeased and angry soul of the father or kinsman hovered round the family hearth, and could be consoled by no propitiation save by the blood of the murderer slain by a member of the household, tended to foster the desire for revenge, to strengthen the feeling of hostility towards rival tribes, and to confirm the popular belief that 'stranger' and 'enemy' were synonymous terms.

LITERATURE.—The authorities have been freely quoted in the preceding pages. On the general subject see Spencer, *Principles of Sociology* (1877), pt. i. chs. xx. xxv.; Avebury, *Origin of Civilisation* (1870), 364 ff.; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*³ (1891), ch. xiv.; de la Saussaye, *Manual of the Science of Religion*, 112 ff.; Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion* (1896), ch. xv.; Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique*; Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions* (1904); J. G. Frazer, *GB*² (1900), ii. 460, iii. 83; W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*² (1894), 213; Landtmann, *The Origin of Priesthood*, ch. ii.; Karsten, *The Origin of Worship, a Study in Primitive Religion* (the two last being academical dissertations addressed to the Alexander University of Finland); Carpenter, 'The Gods Embodiments of the Race Memory' in *Hibbert Journal*, ii. 259 ff.

W. CROOKE.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (American).—1. Communion with spirits of the dead.—Perhaps the most marked feature of the religion of the American Indians is the vivid belief in life after death, possessed by nearly all of the many tribes from Alaska to Patagonia.* There can be little doubt that this belief was based upon the equally general belief in communication between mankind and the spirits of the dead.

Whatever may be the true explanation of that modicum of genuine phenomena, which some attribute to the action of spirits, and others to the sub-conscious self, the phenomena were recognized by the Indians long prior to the advent of modern spiritualism, and, at least in many cases, prior to the earliest historical contact with Europeans. The tribes regarded these phenomena as caused by the spirits of the dead. As a rule they were friendly spirits, those of tribal ancestors, relatives, or friends who returned to earth to warn, protect, instruct, or amuse the living. They were treated with reverence and respect, seldom with fear. They could be seen by those who trained their senses above the normal plane, in accordance with methods handed down from the ancestors, or sometimes, under unusual circumstances, by ordinary mortals.

The power of seeing them was believed to be acquired in various ways—by continued solitary meditation, by the use of certain narcotic herbs, by crystal-gazing. Those who acquired this power became mediums, and were respected as the 'Medicine Men' (a term possibly derived from the mysteries of the Meda Societies), magicians, or priests. By the aid of the spirits they were enabled to foretell the future, and to describe events occurring at a distance. Evidently, therefore, the spirits were believed to possess superhuman knowledge and power, and intercourse with them was sought to obtain this, not for purposes of worship. Amongst many tribes those who acquired this power are distinguished by various names, according to the scope of their attainments, but the principal distinction is between those who are controlled by the unseen forces and those who control them. Only the masters were enabled to compel the spirits to do their bidding. No instances are given of the abuse of these powers. Like the spirits themselves, those who were supposed to hold intercourse with them seem to have been regarded only in a favourable light. As to the effect of these practices upon the medium personally, nothing is heard. Besides these methods of obtaining intercourse with spirits, some men were believed to be born gifted with this power, to some others it could be quickly or instantly imparted by masters. In dreams and visions and under unusual circumstances, spirits were believed to appear, without mediumistic interposition, to ordinary mortals.† There is hardly a tribe to-day which does not possess at least one member who believes that he is able to describe distant events at the time of their occurrence, or to perform some other apparently supernatural feat. In the myths of several southern tribes, mortals journey to the land of the dead, and return therefrom to relate their experiences.‡

2. The soul and the double.—

'The Iroquois and Algonkians believe that man has two souls—one of a vegetative character, which gives bodily life, and remains with the corpse after death until it is called to enter another body; another of more ethereal texture, which can

depart from the body in sleep or trance and wander over the world, and at death goes directly to the land of spirits.'*

The Sioux recognize three souls—one goes to a hot place after death, one to a cold, while a third watches the body. The Dakotas claim four souls.† In most American Indian languages the word for 'soul' is allied to those for 'air,' 'wind,' 'breath,' the breath being thought to represent the animating principle derived from the Cosmic Spirit, or Soul, as amongst Hindus and Romans, though only the system of the Vedas analyzed this relationship.‡

The individual soul was regarded as part of this Cosmic Soul which formed the principal deity of the American Indians. The personified deities in Peru, and probably elsewhere as well, were recognized as special manifestations,§ although the adequate understanding of this concept was doubtless confined to the few, as in all places and times. The unconscious attempt of the missionaries to read monotheism into the concept of the Great Spirit, amongst the northern tribes, naturally prevented appreciation of its true nature, and led to vagueness in their statements.

A wide-spread belief assigned to each individual an attendant guardian spirit, or spiritual companion, independent of, but attached to, the physical self. It warned the self through intuitions of impending dangers, and the like. Such was the *tornak* of the Eskimos; the *oiaron* of the Iroquois, chosen after a period of solitary meditation in the woods, and symbolized by some object seen in a dream or vision; the *ochechag* of the Ojibwas; the *amei-malguen* of the Araucanians; the *huauque* or 'double' of the Peruvians, literally 'brother of a brother,' but also applied to twins and, significantly, to a friend. The Peruvians, moreover, gave this name to the false heads placed upon the mummies to which they expected that the departed spirits would return at some future time. It is probable that the word *huaca*, applied to all sacred objects, referred to the spiritual counterpart, from which, according to the Peruvians, all material objects were derived. Whether accidentally or otherwise, this word is repeated in the sacred Mexican city of *Teotihuacan*, and in the deities *Wakan* and *Wakonda* of North American tribes, as Brinton has shown.¶ It is possible that *Thun-apa pachaca*, 'He who knows himself and all things,' one of the names applied to the Peruvian Cosmic Spirit, may apply to one who has mastered the relation of this double to the physical self. The Guiana tribes also assert that every human being consists of two parts—body, and soul or spirit.¶

3. Methods of communication.—The Micmacs, like the Natchez, Peruvians, and other tribes, kept the bodies of their dead in their homes or temples, believing that this would enable the spirits to warn them of the approach of enemies, and to advise with their priests about the affairs of the tribe. It was once usual for the young men of many tribes, at the approach of puberty, to go alone into the woods to meditate in solitude and without food, until they had visions of visiting spirits, and the like. In Peru a class of hermits dwelt alone upon the mountains, and were consulted as to many things, past, present, and future. The Eskimos also had their hermits, *kavigtok*,** and, according to the Micmacs, there are now several such hermits of their tribe dwelling on the mountains in the almost unexplored wilderness around Cape North, Cape Breton Island.

* Brinton, p. 253.

† *Id.* 49, 52, 55.

‡ See Molina, p. 29.

§ Bancroft, *ibid.* 190, 514; José de Acosta, *ibid.* v. cap. vi.; Bink, 39; Lafitau, i. 336, 370; Molina, *Hist. of Chili*, p. 257; Hagar, *Peruvian Astronomy*, 'Gemini' chapter.

¶ Im Thurn, p. 346.

¶ See Oriedo, *ibid.* xiii. cap. 2, 3.

** Rink, 45.

* Brinton mentions the Pend d'Oreilles of Idaho as the only exception, but others are now known.

† For details of such beliefs amongst Eskimos and Micmacs, see Rink, p. 58; Hagar in *Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore*, vol. ix. p. 170 ff.; Bancroft, *ibid.* 147.

‡ Lafitau, i. 402.

VOL. I.—28

4. Folk-lore of communication. — There is a general belief amongst the Indians that if you go into the woods on a calm day and listen, you will hear the light footsteps of the spirits, and sometimes the sound of an axe. Many of the spirits inhabit trees, from which they appear before the solitary traveller. The Brazilian tribes believe that they announce coming death. The Northern Lights represent to the Eskimos and other tribes the dance of the dead, and are thought to occur only when many have died. The origin legend of the Incas relates that Huanacauri having been walled up in a cave by his three brothers, his spirit accompanied them thence to Cuzco, flying through the air. In some parts of Peru the natives scattered flour or maize or quinoa about the dwelling to see by the footsteps whether the spirits had been moving about.* The modern Mayas mark a path from the tomb to the hut with chalk, so that the returning spirit may find its pathway thither. The Peruvians seem to have believed that all their laws were revealed to their rulers by spirits who descended from the celestial world.†

5. Seances. — The Pottawatomies had recognized rules for communicating with the dead.‡ The spirits came with a 'sound like that of a distant strong wind sweeping through leafless trees, and intermingling with strange voices.' A Zufi rain-priest said that a woman member of his fraternity having died in the sword-swallowing rite, 'her spirit troubled us so much with rapping that we placed live coals in the centre of the room and added pison gum; the room was soon filled with smoke, which effectually rid us of the spirit.' Amongst practically every tribe with which the Spaniards came in contact, their writers describe certain men as talking with the devil, who appeared to them in divers shapes, and imparted supernatural information. Probably they referred to the demonstrations called by us 'seances.' In Cumana, they say, the *piaches*, or priests, informed them as to the exact day when relief ships would arrive from Spain, and as to the number of men, and the amount of supplies they would bring. The priest who made this prophecy

'went into a cave on a very dark night, took with him some bold youth, who stood while he sat. The priest called, cried out, repeated verses, shook rattles, sounded horns dismally, spoke some words of entreaty, and if the devil did not answer, sounded again, sang threats, and grew angry. When the devil came, which was known by the noise, the priest pounded hastily and loud, fell down, and showed that he was taken by the fiend by the faces and gestures that he made.§

According to Acosta, the Peruvians had conjurers who

'tell what hath passed in the farthest parts before any news can come. As it has chanced since the Spaniards arrived there that in the distance of two or three hundred leagues, they have known the mutinies, battles, rebellions, and deaths, both of tyrants and those of the king's party, and of private men, the which have been known the same day they chanced or the day after, a thing impossible in the course of nature. To work this divination they shut themselves into a house and become drunk, until they lose their senses. A day after they answered to that which was demanded. They likewise show what has become of things stolen and lost.'¶

In the provinces of Quito the devil in frightful shape appeared to the priests, who were much respected by all the other Indians.

* Among these one gave replies, and heard what the devil had to say, who, in order to preserve his credit, appeared in a threatening form. Then he let them know future events, and no battle or other event has taken place amongst ourselves that the Indians throughout the kingdom have not prophesied beforehand. There can be no doubt but that by an illusion of the devil the figures of persons who were dead, perhaps fathers or relations, appeared to those Indians in the fields in the dresses they wore when living.'‡

Perhaps the most detailed account of a seance in America, recorded, it should be remembered, long

before the advent of modern spiritualism, is given by Salcamayhua, an Aymara, of pure blood and noble lineage, who writes as follows:

'It happened one day that the Inca Capac Yupanqui wished to witness how the huacas conversed with their friends, so he entered the place selected, which was in a village of the Andes, called Capacuyo. When the young Inca entered among these idolaters, he asked why they closed the doors and windows, so as to leave them in the dark, and they all replied that in this way they could make the huaca come who was the enemy to God Almighty, and that there must be silence. When they had made an end of calling the Devil, he entered with a rush of wind that put them all into a cold sweat of horror. Then the young Inca ordered the doors and windows to be opened that he might know the shape of the thing for which they had waited with such veneration. But as soon as it was light, the Devil hid its face, and knew not how to answer. The dauntless Inca Capac Yupanqui said, "Tell me what you are called," and with much shame it replied what its name was. It fled out of the house raising shouts like thunder.'*

Seances are also described amongst the Caribs and other tribes.

A special and much venerated class of Peruvian priests, called *mallqui umu*, devoted themselves to communicating to the people information obtained from the spirits which had formerly inhabited the mummies placed in their keeping. They were also called *huaca rimachi*, 'those who make the sacred objects speak,' and *ayatapuc*, 'those who make the dead speak,' as they obliged the devil 'to enter into the corpses which they consult, or into the bodies of those whom they put to sleep by their sorceries.'† The famous temple of Rimac Mallqui, near Lima, seems to have been devoted to communion with the dead.

The suggestion of hypnotism is repeated in the snake-charming of the Zufis, whose priests claim to be able to insert their own minds into the brains of the reptiles and to learn their ways.

6. Inducing visions. — To induce visions the Peruvians made use of the plant called *villca*; Hernandez says that the Mexicans used an herb called *ololiuhqui*, or 'serpent-plant,' when they wished to consult with the spirits. By means of it they were enabled to behold a thousand visions, and the forms of hovering demons.§ The Micmacs similarly used their *mededeskooi* or serpent-plant. Amongst the Mayas the *k'menes* or priests were enabled by gazing into the *zastun*, a crystal of quartz, or other translucent material, to behold reflected therein the past, present, and future, to locate lost articles, to see what was happening to absent ones, to learn by whose witchery sickness and disaster had been caused. Scarcely a village in Yucatan was without one of these stones.|| The Cherokee magicians by means of their *oolunsade*, or crystals, obtained power to go to the spirit world and back. In them they beheld events anywhere at any time they wished. They also used them to call to their aid the invisible little people, who would accomplish almost anything for them, either good or evil. They would drive out the hostile spirits who caused illness or inflicted death; they would fly on errands over land and sea. One Cherokee, with every indication of good faith, informed the present writer that he possessed a crystal and could use it in all the ways stated. It must be fed by rubbing blood upon it, and if angry would cause injury to its owner. The Zufi priests used crystals for like purposes. In Peru, though the use of crystals is not affirmed, a legend asserts that the Inca Yupanqui, while gazing into the clear depths of a spring, beheld a messenger from the celestial world, who told him many wonderful things.

7. Belief in life after death. — Whether the general belief in life after death amongst the American Indians was founded on their real or

* Arriaga, p. 30.

† B. Hagar, *Peruv. Astron.* 'Scorpio' chapter.

‡ *Forum*, July 1898, p. 624. § Herrera, vol. III. pp. 310, 311.

¶ Acosta, vol. II. pp. 367, 368.

¶ Cieza de Leon, pt. I. p. 180.

* Salcamayhua, p. 85.

† Calancha, tome I. p. 411; Squier, p. 84, quoting Pinedo; Cieza de Leon, pt. I. ch. 91.

‡ See Lorente, p. 284.

§ Popol Vuh, p. 184 note.

|| Brinton, *Essays of an Americanist*, p. 165.

supposed communion with the spirits of the dead, or *vice versa*, the intensity of this belief amongst the Cahrocs and in Peru is evidenced by the Druid-like custom of whispering in the ears of the dying messages to departed friends.* Algonquin women who desired to become mothers flocked to the couch of those about to die, in the hope that the vital principle, as it passed from the body, would enter them and fertilize their sterile wombs. The Aymara word *mallqui* meaning 'mummy' is also translated 'tree,' 'lord,' 'immortal,' 'a bush for transplanting,' 'a young bird about to leave its nest for life elsewhere.' The conventional expression amongst the Indians at the approach of death is 'My father calls me to rest with him.' Many tribes held the doctrine of re-incarnation. The Chinook says that when a man dies, his spirit passes to his son; the Thlinket, that the soul has the option of returning to life. In that case it generally enters the body of a female relative to form the soul of a coming infant. Some tribes of Southern California supposed that the dead returned to certain verdant isles in the sea while awaiting the birth of infants, whose souls they were to form. The Apaches taught the metempsychosis of souls into animals. The Nootkas, Pueblos, and Mayas also believed in re-incarnation.† The Dakota medicine-men profess to tell things which occurred in bodies previously inhabited for at least half a dozen generations. Many tribes preserved the bones of their dead, believing in the resurrection of the body.‡

8. Magic.—Feats of magic in which, however, the participation of spirits is not asserted, are reported amongst many tribes, the Mayas being especially proficient therein. See fully under art. MAGIC.

9. Mortuary customs.—The various tribes made use of very diverse methods of burial, including inhumation in natural or artificial cavities, in or on the ground, desiccation by tight wrapping, the remains being afterwards placed in or on the earth, deposition in urns, surface burial in hollow trees or caverns, cremation, aerial sepulture in lodges or elevated platforms, and aquatic burial beneath the water or in canoes which were afterwards turned adrift.§ Mummies, common in Peru, have also been found in many parts of North America, but it is still doubtful whether any artificial process of embalming was resorted to for preserving these bodies. A form of water burial, analogous to the Norse, was once practised by the Micmacs at the funeral of chiefs. It seems not to have been used by any other tribe on the Atlantic coast.

Food, clothing, tools, and cherished objects were generally buried with the body, and food and drink were afterwards left upon the grave, but this was the service of love seeking to provide for the material wants of the soul in the earth above. It was not worship. In Peru, as in India, even the wives and servants of the deceased, together with some of his domestic animals, were once buried with the deceased, but at the time of the conquest it had already become the general custom to substitute images of the required objects.

The Ojibwas believe that, when they partake of visible food at the grave, the spirit at the same time partakes of the spiritual element of that food.|| The Mexicans had a similar belief.¶ So, often, as in Egypt, the pottery deposited on the grave was broken that its 'spirit' might escape to serve the deceased.** The Algonquins beat the

walls near the corpse with a stick to frighten away the lingering ghost. But this was done only by the enemies of the deceased.*

10. Nature of life after death.—The land of souls amongst the American Indians was usually located in the sky, the sky-world being regarded as the world of origins, of which the earth is but an echo or counterpart. Life in the sky-world therefore was thought to differ little from life on earth. The soul continued to pursue the same objects that it had sought here. The Happy Hunting Ground was a literal ideal of the northern hunter tribes, but the concept rises amongst the Mayas to a place of eternal repose under the cool umbrageous shade of the sacred tree, *yaxche*.† Certain legends seem to localize the land of souls in or near the sun, and in the Pleiades,‡ but the sun merely represents the dwelling of the ruler of the sky-land.

Journey of souls.—The way thither is long and difficult. For four days and nights the soul toils onwards over a dark and dreary way, lighted only by the fires which are maintained on its grave during that period. First it journeys to the extremities of the earth, to the point where the Milky Way, the path or river of souls, touches the earth. At the entrance to the Galaxy, it passes a dog, or between two mountains which guard the way. Then, guided by the spirit of a dog or by a star, it leaves the earth and advances on this narrow path until it comes to a point where the path forks. Here the spirits of those who have been brave and courageous, and have led praiseworthy lives, reach the broad arm and quickly attain to the celestial goal, while those less commendable pass out upon the narrow arm and struggle on with bitter effort. Such is the real symbolic basis of the journey of souls. Though this symbolism is usually veiled, it is sometimes quite clearly stated, as by the Skidi Pawnees.§ Everywhere the soul must cross water, usually a torrential river, sometimes a series of streams, the ocean or a lake. Sometimes it does this on a narrow hair bridge, as in Peru and Colombia and amongst the Eskimos, sometimes on a slippery log, as amongst the Cherokees, Iroquois, and other northern tribes, on an enormous snake amongst Algonquins and Dakotas, on sea-lions on the Peruvian coast, on dogs in Mexico, in a stone canoe amongst the Ojibwas. The Mexicans, with marked inconsistency in view of their sanguinary rites, translated to heaven at once and without effort the souls of warriors and of women who died in childbirth. The Pawnees conceded to them a comparatively easy journey.

The Zuis believe that

'the ghost hovers about the village four nights after death, and starts on its journey to Kothluwalawa (Abiding-place of the Council of the Gods) on the fifth morning. During the spirit's stay in the village, the door and hatchway of the house must be left ajar that it may pass in and out at will; should the door be closed the ghost would scratch upon it, and not be satisfied until it was opened. These shadow beings can be observed by seers and by others under certain conditions.'¶

Parents or sisters of a deceased person sleep at the side of the surviving spouse during the four nights that the spirit is supposed to remain in Zufi. A grain of black corn or a bit of charcoal is put under the head of the women to ensure against dreaming of the lost one, whose ghost would appear should the sleeper awake.

11. Worship of ancestors and of the dead.—Strictly speaking, instances of true worship of ancestors or of the dead in America are rare. The dead are seldom confused or identified with the various deities, whose attributes, with

* Hill, vol. i. p. 200; Bancroft, iii. 200.

† Bancroft, iii. 53, 514, 517, 525, 527.

‡ S. R. Riggs in *AAOJ*, vol. v. p. 149.

§ Yarrow, pp. 92, 199.

¶ Tylor, vol. ii. p. 35.

** Sayce in *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 196 note 1.

|| *Id.* p. 191.

* Brinton, 255; Bancroft, iii. 199.

† Landa, pp. 200, 201.

‡ See Brinton, 261, 262; Bancroft, ii. 511; S. Hagar, *Perus Astron.* 'Taurus' chapter.

§ Dorsey, *op. cit.*

¶ *Bur. Am. Eth.*, 1904, 307.

few exceptions, clearly reveal their origin in the personification of natural phenomena. The American Indians as a race are typically nature-worshippers. The sun and moon, and other celestial bodies, the seasons, the six directions, the four supposed elements, all figure prominently and generally in their pantheon, but the cult of the dead, wide-spread though it be, is confined almost entirely to communication with the spirits of the departed. Fear is seldom an element of this cult. Its main motive seems to be merely the renewal of friendly relations with the spirits, who are regarded as leading in another world an individual life very similar to their earthly life, to which they are eventually destined to return. Superhuman knowledge of events distant in time or space is indeed attributed to the spirits, no greater perhaps than that conceded to certain living men, but these men themselves were thought to receive their knowledge from the spirits. It is a long step from such attributes to deification. Honours were paid to the dead individually, similar in degree to those due them when on earth; information was asked of them, seldom anything else. But there is slight evidence that the dead were regarded as superior beings.

The chief when living remained a chief when dead, as much below the deities then as before, except for greater knowledge. In Spanish writings of a period when apostles were asserted to have fought visibly against the heathen in Peru, spirits are said to have helped the Inca Yupanqui to overcome his enemies. If this be a Peruvian tradition, it is a rare example of a native legend which attributes to the spirits active intervention in the affairs of this world. Amongst the civilized tribes who offer elaborate petitions to their nature deities, very few are directed to the spirits. The legend of Manco Ccapac and Mama Oello of Peru, and the deities of the Popol Vuh, who, descending from the sky, after an active life on earth re-ascend to the sky and become stars, clearly reveal nature personification. Amongst a number of legends relating to caciques similarly translated and deified, none which present details can be otherwise classified.

The Paraguayans and the Powhatans of Virginia are said to have worshipped the skeletons of their forefathers,* but may merely have retained them to consult with the spirits which were believed in some sense to remain attached to the bodies. So the people of Comagre worshipped the jewelled mummies of their ancestors.†

The Eskimo upper world is ruled by the souls of the dead, including those inhabiting the celestial bodies. These were once men, and occasionally returned to earth.‡ In Nayarit, the skeleton of a king received Divine honours, as did Pezelao, god of the dead in Oaxaca.§ But the worship of the deity who governs the dead is quite distinct from the worship of the spirits themselves. The Caribs held regular meetings to propitiate the spirits.|| The Californian tribes believed that some of the dead became stars,¶ the Iroquois that the stars had all been mortals, or favoured animals, and birds. But the sun and moon existed before them.** In Peru, the malquis, or mummies, were petitioned to grant food, health, and life.†† According to Acosta, each ruling Inca after death was regarded as a god, and had his individual sacrifices, statues, etc.‡‡ Each month the coast people sacrificed children and anointed the tombs with their blood.§§

* Brinton, 274.

† Rink, p. 48.

‡ *Ib.* 496.

§ Mrs. Erminie A. Smith.

¶ José de Acosta, lib. vi. cap. xii.

§§ F. de Xeres, *Reports*, p. 82.

† Bancroft, III. 500.

‡ Bancroft, III. 457.

§ *Ib.* 523.

|| Arriaga, p. 30.

The Chibchas and Guatemalan tribes buried a corpse in the foundation of each building that it might be protected by the spirit.* The Mexicans called their dead *teotl*, meaning 'divinity.'† Some asserted that their gods had been at first mere men, who had been deified either because of their rank, or some notable thing which they had done.‡ They set up in their temples statues of their victorious generals.§

12. Festival of the dead.—In many parts of America there was an annual or semi-annual festival in honour of the dead who, at this time, as in China, Japan, and many other countries, were believed to return to earth over the Milky Way to participate invisibly in the ceremonies. In Peru the Ayamarca, or Carrying of the Corpses, festival was celebrated annually for three days at the time of our Halloween, All Saints', and All Souls'. The supposed coincidence in time is but one of many similar analogies in the Peruvian ritual that are associated with ceremonials which have reached us from pre-historic times. During this festival the bodies of the deceased rulers of the Incas, with those of their principal wives or *cocoyas*, were clothed in new garments, and were brought forth from the temple in which they were deposited. Each mummy, followed by its special attendant, was then borne in ceremonial procession through the streets of the sacred city of Cuzco, after which food and drink were offered to it with all the honours due in life, in the belief that at this time the spirit did indeed return to the body, and reside therein during the time of the festival. The procession echoed on earth the passage of the sun through the zodiacal sign of the Mummy (Scorpio). At the same time fruits and flowers were placed upon all graves to refresh the returning spirits. The festival is also associated with the imparting of celestial wisdom.||

The basis of this ritual, however, seems to have been rejoicing over the temporary renewal of intercourse with departed friends and relatives, and its object to welcome and please them with respect and courtesies. The element of worship of the dead as superior beings or the offering of prayers to them for aid is not prominent. The Mexicans held festivals in honour of the dead in August and November, when the souls hovered over and smelt of the food set out for them, sucking out its nutritive quality. The Mayas, Mizteca, Pueblos, and Eskimos performed similar rites in November, the Iroquois in spring and autumn.¶ The Hurons believed that the souls of the dead remained near to the bodies until the feast of the dead was celebrated. They then became free, and at once departed for the land of spirits.** The Chibchas and Peruvians repeated the curious Egyptian custom of introducing a mummy in the midst of a revel to suggest to the feasters the omnipresence of death.††

13. Demons.—The religion of the American Indians is not dualistic; good and evil alike are attributed to the Great Spirit. But the conflict, so far as it is recognized, depends rather upon physical and mental than upon moral qualities. No instance can be found in aboriginal America of a contest between a supreme good and a supreme

* Scherzer quoting Ximenes in note, p. 188; Padre Simon, p. 255.

† Motolinia, p. 31.

‡ Mendista, p. 84; Camargo, III. p. 154; see also Herrera, III. p. 221.

§ Camargo, in *Nouv. Ann. des Voyages*, 4^{me} ser., III. p. 136.

¶ S. Hagar, *Peruv. Astron.* 'Scorpio' chapter.

|| Bancroft, II. 331, 335; Fraser in *Fortnightly Review*, Sept. 1906, p. 476 ff.; Morgan, I. 275; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II. p. 45.

** Yarrow, 191; Stevenson; Lafitau, II. 43; Charlevoix, 277.

†† Salcamayhua, 85; Uricoechea, 19.

evil power for dominion over souls or even for the control of the world. Mischievous, angry, and hostile spirits are recognized, and two heroes, respectively propitious and adverse to mankind, are sometimes contrasted in traditions, probably of native origin, though modified by Christianity. But there was no Satan in America, and the hostile spirits play a subordinate part. The attempts of the early missionaries to create a Satan in the various native languages are amusing. Generally the word used means simply 'spirit,' but in the list is included the beneficent Araucanian god dwelling in the Pleiades, numerous deities called evil only because associated with the dead, and the Peruvian *Supay*, which is only the name of the under world, shared by Haitians, Quichés, Pueblos, and, apparently, by the South Pacific Islanders and the Dayaks of Borneo.* This under world, as well as the sky-world, was undoubtedly viewed as the home of the spirits; and those who dwell in the former seem to be regarded as inferior and to some extent hostile, but there is no such contrast as between heaven and hell. There was no conception of a place of punishment. Such ideas are of missionary origin.

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STANSBURY HAGAR.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Babylonian).—It is at the outset necessary to inquire how far the Babylonian beliefs and customs relating to the cult of the dead, and pointing to a form or forms of ancestor-worship, were in their origin Semitic. The answer depends

* S. Hagar, *op. cit.* 'Scorplo' chapter.

on the attitude one takes towards the Sumerio-Akkadian problem. The majority of Assyriologists, believing as they do in the existence of a distinctly pre-Semitic Sumerio-Akkadian culture and language, naturally hold that the cult connected with the spirits of the departed, which was allowed to flourish by the side of the Babylonian State religion (or rather religions) was in its essence very largely, if not entirely, a popular survival of an ancient non-Semitic form of animism, and Sayce goes so far as to say that the ideas connected with this cult were 'never really assimilated by the Semitic settlers' (*Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, 1902, p. 276). An entirely opposite opinion must, of course, be held by the smaller number of Assyriologists, who categorically deny the pre-Semitic civilization here referred to; and even a cautious writer like Jastrow maintains that there is no necessity 'to differentiate or to attempt to differentiate between Semitic and so-called non-Semitic elements' in Babylonian and Assyrian religion (*Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, p. 24).

The non-Semitic origin of the cult appears at first sight to be confirmed by the many words of an entirely different linguistic stock that meet us in the texts relating to it, as, e.g., *Ekur* and *Kigallu* (names of the under world), and apparently also *utukku* and *ekimmu* (kinds of ghosts). But Semitic terms are by no means absent, as e.g. *Allatu* (name of the goddess of the under world), *Shu'alu** (one of the names of the under world), and, as it seems, also *Arālu*† (or *Arallu*), which is the most common designation of Hades.

It is, furthermore, safe to assume by analogy that, even on the theory of an early pre-Semitic civilization of Babylonia, the Semites may, on entering the country, have brought with them popular ideas regarding the dead which were not dissimilar from those they found among the natives, and that the adoption of Sumerio-Akkadian terms (which, let it be remembered, are frequent in the Semitic state religions themselves) would in the process of adaptation follow as a matter of course. It must also be borne in mind that, historically speaking, we have so far to do almost entirely with Semites. We are therefore in the present state of our knowledge fully justified in—provisionally at any rate—treating the cult and the ideas connected with it as in the full sense of the word Semitic.

Besides the question of origin, many other uncertainties still obscure the problem; for there are so far not enough data for the formulation of a complete system of these ideas and customs. In the interpretation also of a number of facts one has often to rely on inference rather than actual proof. It may be assumed that fuller knowledge will be the result of further excavation and the complete decipherment of extant materials; but for the present it must suffice to systematize the information that has already been gained.

The extant data may be conveniently treated under the following three heads:—(1) deification, (2) sacrifices and offerings to the dead, (3) necromancy. Some cognate matters, which may help to elucidate the problem, can easily be mentioned in connexion with one or other of these three parts.

1. Deification.—The only instance so far known

* On *Shu'alu* (Heb. *She'el*) see § 3 below.

† Jeremias (*Bab.-Assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 123) considers it to be the same as *Ariel* in Is 29¹², both words apparently signifying (1) the mountain of the gods, the Heb. *Zion*; (2) a place of desolation and woe. The term *Arālu* would thus seem to point to a mountainous country (therefore not Babylonia) as the origin of the ideas connected with the under world. The same result is obtained from the use of the term *Ekur*, which among its various meanings includes that of the mountain of the gods.

in Babylonian mythology of mortals passing to immortality and deification without having previously died and gone down to the under world, is that of Sit-napishtin, the Babylonian Noah,* and his wife (or, according to Berossus, as reported by Alexander Polyhistor, also his daughter and his pilot†). When the deluge was over, Bel, whose wrath had been appeased by a speech of Ea, bestowed divine life on the pair, and assigned to them a dwelling afar off 'at the mouth of the streams.' The case of the hero Gilgamesh and that of Etana, before whose names the determinative for 'god' is always placed, are different; for both of them had first to pass through death, the common fate. Gilgamesh, as the epic bearing the name shows, endeavoured in vain to secure exemption from the fate of mortals by his visit to his ancestor‡ Sit-napishtin; and with regard to Etana, it is only reasonable to assume that he was dashed to pieces when he fell from the heights of heaven with the eagle that bore him. In the case of Adapa, who, having broken the wings of Shûtu, the south-west wind, was summoned to heaven to answer the charge, deification and a place in the company of the gods of heaven would have been his share, if he had not refused to partake of the 'meat of life' and 'the water of life' which Anu had offered him. The ground for deification in the cases mentioned was no doubt the heroic character of the persons concerned; but the element of ancestor-worship was probably not absent, and it is in any case clear that such instances of deification cannot be dissociated from the cult connected with the departed.

Passing from legend (which may, however, be assumed to rest on some actual ancient events) to historic times, we find the names of Dungi and Gudea (probably before the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.) 'written on tablets that belong to the centuries immediately following their reign, with the determinative that is placed before the names of gods. Festivals were celebrated in honour of these kings, sacrifices were offered to them, and their images were placed in temples. Again, Gimilain (about 2500 B.C.), of the second dynasty of Ur, appears [like an Egyptian Pharaoh] to have been deified during his lifetime, and there was a temple at Lagash which was named after him' (Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 561). In paying honour to deified kings and other great personages, the sons and other descendants would both naturally and in accordance with an established rule (see § 2) take the lead, and the people generally would share in the celebrations, so that we have here instances firstly of ancestor-worship in the strict sense of the word, and secondly in its wider, if looser, signification as homage paid to the departed kings and fathers of the people.

Some acts pointing to deification or semi-deification in later times will be mentioned in connexion with sacrifices and offerings to the dead, and it will there also be seen what form the cult of the dead took among the people in general; but it is necessary to inquire whether we are able to form a clear notion of what deification meant among the ancient Babylonians. Did the deified rulers and chiefs stay among the gloomy deities of the under world presided over by Nergal and his consort Allatu, or did they ascend to join the company of the supernal gods? A writer like

* In reality Sit-napishtin (pronounced by some Par-napishtin, Pir-napishtin, or Ut-napishtin, and named Xisuthros [= Atrahasis, or Khâsisatra] by Berossus) appears to be a combination of the Biblical Noah and Enoch, the latter having also escaped death (Gn 5²⁴).

† Or, perhaps, the ship's architect; see Euseb. *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, I. p. 22.

‡ In the Gilgamesh Epic, ix., beginning of col. iii., the hero says:—'Sit-napishtin, my father . . . who entered the assembly of the gods,' etc.

Jastrow, who strongly emphasizes the impossibility of a disembodied human spirit escaping out of the Babylonian Hades, must adopt the former alternative, notwithstanding the various difficulties connected with this interpretation (as, e.g., the instances of an *utukku* actually finding its way back to earth). The brightest view so far taken of the Babylonian doctrine bearing on this problem is that of A. Jeremias (*op. cit.* pp. 100–105, and elsewhere). With Sayce and others this writer takes the epithet 'raiser from the dead,'* given to Marduk and other deities, in its natural sense (as against the forced interpretation of Jastrow, who takes it in the sense of preventing death from overtaking the living), and attributes to the ancient Babylonians hopes of a much brighter existence than was to be had in the under world; and if this be so, there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that by their deification Gudea and others entered the luminous company of the gods of heaven instead of dwelling for ever in Hades, and that in consequence their descendants had bright and happy visions of the ancestors to whom they addressed worship. Confirmatory of this view is the fact that the 'water of life,' to which reference has already been made in the story of Adapa, is to be found even in Hades. If Ishtar could by the command of Ea be restored to the upper world by being sprinkled with this 'water of life' ('Descent of Ishtar,' reverse, l. 38 ff.), why not also departed mortals who were destined for deification? The truth, however, seems to be that we have here to deal with different streams of belief, some tending one way and some another. But in accepting this opinion it is not necessary at the same time to agree with Sayce, who assigns the gloomier doctrine of Hades to the Sumerians, and the supernal deification to the Semites, for it may well be that there were different streams of tradition among the Semites themselves. Development within the Semitic field is, of course, also an important factor to consider.

2. **Sacrifices and offerings to the dead.**—Mention has already been made of sacrifices offered to deified kings in early Babylonian history, and of festivals celebrated in their honour. The famous Stele of Vultures, which records the victories of Eannatuna, or Eannadu, an ancient king† of the city of Shurpura, shows on one of the extant fragments the corpses of departed warriors laid in rows, whilst their surviving comrades are represented with baskets on their heads, which are generally understood to have contained funeral offerings‡ for the dead. The fallen enemies, on the other hand, are refused burial, their remains being the food of struggling vultures (on the terrible meaning of this treatment, see below). An ancient bronze tablet, which represents a funeral scene, apparently watched over from the top by Nergal, and showing below the goddess Allatu in her bark, exhibits the dead person lying on a bier, attended by priests in fish-like garments, with a stand for burning incense not far from the head of the bier.§ 'On

* Cf. I 8 26 ('He bringeth down to Sheol and bringeth up').

† Probably before a.c. 4000 (see L. W. King, *Bab. Religion*, p. 45).

‡ The interpretation of the scene is, however, uncertain. The baskets may have contained more earth for the mound raised over the corpses. Jastrow (*op. cit.* p. 569) states that the Stele shows animal sacrifices being offered to the dead, and Maspero (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 607) says that 'the sovereign deigns to kill with his own hand one of the principal chiefs of the enemy' in honour of the dead. Fragments of the Stele were first made known by de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, plates 3 and 4. For other literature, see Maspero, *loc. cit.*

§ See Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 579; Maspero, *op. cit.* p. 690 ff.; L. W. King, *op. cit.* p. 37 ff. The exact interpretation of this tablet is also a matter of dispute, but there is no doubt about the burning of incense. The fish-like garments of the attendants or priests have apparently reference to the god Ea in his character as lord of the deep. This and the other bronze plates of the same class are by some supposed to have served as votive tablets in the graves of the dead.

the monuments of later Babylonian and Assyrian kings we do not find any representation of burial ceremonies' (L. W. King, *op. cit.* p. 48), but from a broken inscription of one of the later Assyrian kings, whose name has not been preserved, 'we learn that the king placed vessels of gold and silver in the grave as dedicatory offerings' to his departed father (*ib.* p. 49). Ashurbanipal (king of Assyria, B.C. 668-626), in a still more devout fashion, appears at the tombs of his ancestors with rent garments, pouring out a libation in memory of the dead, and addressing a prayer to them (see, e.g., Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 605).

It is necessary, however, to distinguish carefully between sacrifices in the proper sense of the word and offerings of various kinds made to the dead by way of providing for their proper maintenance in the under world. The former point to a form of deification and actual worship (though probably in most cases of a secondary kind), whilst the latter, which, roughly speaking, belong to the decidedly popular element of the cult, are generally understood to have had the object of keeping the ghosts of the departed in a sufficiently comfortable condition in the under world, so as not to risk their returning to molest their living relatives and acquaintances. One is inclined to include affection for the departed among the underlying motives, and some of the details to be mentioned presently would seem to support this view; but it is true that the motive of fear was exceedingly strong. The departed human spirit was best known by the dreaded name *ekimmu*. The difference between it and *utukku* cannot be accurately stated. It seems, however, that *utukku* was a general name for demon, for we hear of the *utukku* 'of the field,' 'of the sea,' etc., whilst *ekimmu* was (or became) the proper name for a departed human spirit. Sayce (*op. cit.* p. 284) would limit the meaning of *ekimmu* to the 'spirit of an unburied corpse over whose unsanctified remains the funeral rites had never been performed'; but R. C. Thompson (*The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, i. p. xxvii. ff.) has shown that the name was also applied to ghosts who, though properly buried, had no one to provide them with the necessary sustenance in the under world, so that they were forced to return to the earth in order to seek for themselves some sort of maintenance among their former associates. When opportunity offered, the ghost would even enter the body of a living man, tormenting him until it should be exorcised by a priest. In order to guard against these dangers to the living, it was necessary, first of all, to perform the funeral rites, by means of which the human spirit was enabled to reach its destination in the realms of Arālu; and it was, secondly, required of the relatives, and more particularly of the eldest son and direct descendants of the deceased, to make provision for their proper maintenance in a region where, apart from the sustenance provided for them by their friends on earth, 'dust is their nourishment, their food clay,' and where 'over gate and bolt dust is scattered' (opening part of the 'Descent of Ishtar'). Offerings of this kind would, however, naturally assume a propitiatory character of a more or less definite kind, and a sufficiently close affinity with sacrifices proper would be the result.

The provision thus made for the departed differed, of course, in accordance with their condition during their life on earth, and was, besides, dependent on the means possessed by their living relatives. The occupant of the smaller chambers of burial 'was content to have with him his linen, his ornaments, some bronze arrowheads, and metal or clay vessels,' whilst others were provided with 'furniture, which, though not as complete as that found in Egyptian

sepulchres, must have ministered to all the needs of the spirit' (Maspero, *op. cit.* p. 686). Special requirements were also thought of. Thus, 'beside the body of a woman or young girl was arranged an abundance of spare ornaments, flowers, scent-bottles, combs, cosmetic pencils, and cakes of the black paste with which they were accustomed to paint the eyebrows and the edges of the eyelids' (Maspero, *ib.*). 'Toys, too, are found in the graves, and we may assume that these were placed in the tombs of children' (Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 598). Food and drink were, of course, the main requirements, and these all-important offerings were made to the dead not only at the time of burial, but also afterwards by surviving relatives; and the entrances to tombs that have been found (Peters, *Nippur*, ii. 173, and elsewhere) may be explained as an arrangement made for renewing these and other offerings. The son performed the office of pouring out water in memory of his father. The water-jar is indeed 'never absent in the old Babylonian tombs, and by the side of the jar the bowl of clay or bronze is found, which probably served the same purpose as a drinking utensil for the dead' (Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 599). Remains of food of various kinds are, however, more frequent in the early graves than in those of later times. Among the other objects placed at the disposal of the dead are the staves which the owners carried about in their lifetime, and the seal-cylinders which persons of position were in the habit of using. How far the customary wailing for the dead, not only immediately after their departure, but also subsequently, included terms of homage and adoration, cannot be stated with any certainty; but it appears that the Festival of Tammuz was selected as a kind of 'All Souls' Day,' and some degree of adoration of the dead may have been combined with the ceremonies connected with the homage paid to the annually reviving god.

The grim side of this cycle of ideas is seen in the treatment of the corpses of enemies. By dragging the dead bodies out of their graves, mutilating their remains, and other indignities, their shades were deprived of their comfort and their rest, and their living relatives became at the same time exposed to the terrible molestation of the prowling and suffering ghosts. This explains the violence done to the remains of fallen enemies, as represented on the Stele of Vultures already referred to. In later times, Ashurbanipal expressly states that by destroying the graves of Elamite kings and dragging their bodies to Assyria he had made sure that no food should be tendered to them, and no sacrifices offered in their honour (see e.g. Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 602; L. W. King, *op. cit.* p. 44). Similar revenge upon his enemies was taken by Sennacherib.

3. Necromancy.—Necromancy, which is an essential part of the cult of the dead, and which must also have been connected with the presentation of offerings to the shades consulted, undoubtedly held a prominent place among the magic arts of the Babylonians. 'A series of mythological texts shows that scenes such as that between Saul and the witch of Endor were familiar to Babylonian fancy also. Among the lists of the various orders of priests we find the offices of "exorcist of the spirits of the dead," the priest "who raises the Spirit of the dead," and the *Sha'ilu*, the "inquirer of the dead" * (A. Jeremias, *Bab. Conception of Heaven and Hell*, p. 28). The argument, however, that

* Jeremias himself, however, states that the literature so far known to us has no example of the 'inquiry of the dead.' The case of Eabani was different, for Gilgamesh conversed with him like one person with another (see further on). It is to be noted here that in *Eak 21st* (Eng. 21) Nebuchadnezzar is represented as inquiring of the Terāphim, which some writers regard as images of ancestors. (See § 2 of the 'Hebrew' article).

has been urged by Jastrow (*op. cit.* p. 559) and others, that the name *Shu'alu* (Heb. *Sh'e'ol*) itself proves that inquiry of the dead was inseparable from the very notion of the under world thus designated, is by no means convincing; for the root *sha'al* (שאל) may be connected with *sh'ad* (שד), thus giving to *Shu'alu* the meaning of 'hollowed out place' rather than that of 'place of inquiry' * (see *Oxf. Heb. Lex. s.v.*).

The classical, and so far solitary, clear instance of raising a dead person and conversing with him (analogous to the famous Biblical instance of Saul and Samuel) is that of the hero Gilgamesh and the shade of his friend Eabani, as related in the closing tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic. The help of Nergal himself had to be obtained in order to secure the desired effect. The god of Hades 'opened the hole of the earth, and let the *utukku* of Eabani come forth out of the earth like a wind' (Gilgamesh Epic, xii. col. 3, ll. 27-8). The conversation of the two friends turns on the condition of the departed in the regions of Hades.

As connected with this part of the subject omens may be mentioned. Mr. R. C. Thompson, in the work already referred to, writes as follows:—

'The belief in the *ekimnes* spirit had obtained such a hold over the Assyrians that they even went to the length of deducing omens from the appearance of such a ghost in a house. As a rule, it was held to be an evil omen, whether it was merely a silent apparition or whether it gibbered or uttered some words or awaited some response. . . . The threat that is held over the heads of all spectres of this class is that no rite shall be paid to them until they have departed' (vol. I. p. xxxv).

To sum up: the evidence, so far as it goes, shows clearly that even in historic times the cult of the dead and elements of ancestor-worship formed, more or less distinctly, part of Babylonian religious observances. As regards deification of deceased ancestors, sacrifices in the proper sense of the word, and festivals held in honour of the dead, the clear evidence, as was to be expected, relates to the ruling families only. It may, by analogy with the religious development of other races, be assumed that ancestor-worship and the cult of the dead were more prevalent in pre-historic times than later on. But whether this cult was in very ancient times the only or even the chief religious worship of the Babylonians—whether Sumerians or Semites, or a combination of both—is quite a different question. It surely is not improbable that it was but one among a variety of cults, and that the various *numina loci*, the heavenly bodies, the storm, the lightning, and other powers of nature played at least as great a part in the earliest Babylonian religion as the worship of the departed. There is at any rate nothing in the Babylonian cult to confirm the theory of Herbert Spencer, that ancestor-worship was the sole original worship of humanity, and that animism in its wider sense was developed out of it.

LITERATURE.—The principal literature used has been frequently quoted. The part relating to the subject in the German edition of Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* had not come to hand when the article was written. The bibliography at the end of that edition will no doubt be the fullest. In the quotations from the 'Descent of Ishtar' and the 'Epic of Gilgamesh,' Jensen's edition (Schrader's *KB* vi.) has been followed.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Celtic).—The meagre data preserved concerning the Celtic religions contain little evidence to show that the worship of ancestors prevailed in Gaul or the British Isles. The general existence of this cult throughout the Indo-Germanic peoples (see Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Alterthumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 21-33), however, renders it practically certain that

* Jeremiaas, *Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 62 renders 'place of decision' (*Entscheidungsort*), but the synonym *Mala-akki* which he quotes may itself be a mere guess of Babylonian etymologists.

the Celts, like the kindred stocks, worshipped their ancestors. The Druids are known to have taught not only immortality but also metempsychosis (Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, vi. 14; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 454-458). Yet the only passages which in any way sanction the hypothesis of ancestor-worship are Caesar, *de Bello Gallico*, vi. 19, and Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, iii. 19. The former author states that, 'in keeping with the cult of the Gauls, funerals are magnificent and sumptuous, and they cast upon the pyre all that they suppose pleasing to the living; even animals and, a short time ago, slaves and dependants who were evidently especially dear to the deceased were burned with them after the funeral rites had been duly performed.' Pomponius adds that, in consequence of the Gallic belief in immortality, 'they burn and bury with the dead things proper for the living,' and says that the human victims who were burned were either messengers (like the slaves killed to carry tidings to a deceased king in Dahomey) or faithful retainers who desired to continue life in the future world with their patrons. It is questionable, however, whether all this can be construed as ancestor-worship in the strict sense of the term.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Egyptian).—A. Ancestor-worship.—Of a developed ancestor-worship, like that of the Far East, there is in Egyptian religion little trace. Their knowledge of their long history disposed the Egyptians to revere the memory of their ancestors (*tepu-*hui**), and we often hear 'the time of the ancestors' referred to with respect: such-and-such a temple was rebuilt 'as it had been in the time of the ancestors'; so wonderful a thing had never happened 'since the time of the ancestors,' and so forth. The kings naturally regarded their predecessors in the royal line with respect, and are depicted making offerings to their names, as at Abydos, where Seti I. and his son, the Prince Rameses (afterwards Rameses II.), offer incense before the two long rows of cartouches, each of which contains the name of a king whom Seti considered worthy of special honour. Incense is being offered much as it might be offered before Japanese *shai*. But Egyptian ancestor-worship went little farther than this. The ordinary person did not specially venerate the names of his ancestors. He often commemorated them, but never as gods, except in so far that every dead man was a god in that he 'became Osiris.' But as a proof of his loyalty to the reigning dynasty, he venerated the ancient royal names which his king delighted to honour: at Sakka we find a private person, Tunur, offering to a series of kings' names, which is almost identical with that revered by Seti I. at Abydos. Such lists were purely commemorative. Seti I. did not regard his ancestors as gods because they were his ancestors, but because, as kings of Egypt, they had been gods; every king during his life was the 'good god' as the successor and representative on earth of the sky-god Horus, the oldest ruler of Egypt. Tunur regarded the ancient kings as gods for the same reason. He would never have represented himself offering to the *shai* of his own ancestors as gods, because they never had been gods, nor did he regard them as gods except in so far as each was an Osiris.

Osiris-worship was not ancestor-worship. It is not probable that the Egyptians regarded even Osiris, the great god of the dead, with whom every dead man was identified, as a sort of original ancestor of the race, in spite of the belief that he had once reigned over Egypt as king. This Euhemeristic view is probably late, and was certainly of local origin, probably at Busiris in the Delta (see below). The older Egyptians had feared the

magical power of the dead man, and had regarded him as a deity; every dead man was Osiris. So they worshipped him as Osiris and in the form of the god of the dead; not under his own name or in his own shape. Thus no real cult of ancestors as gods under their own names and in their own shapes ever grew up in Egypt. To venerate one's ancestors as Osirises was a very different thing from venerating them as ancestors. Filial piety demanded the mention of mother and father, perhaps of grand-parents, on one's gravestone; the son could put up a *stèle* in memory of his parents 'as making their names to live upon earth.' But so also could a brother make the name of his brother or sister to live. No worship is implied.

Religious duty demanded the proper observance of certain ceremonies at the tomb by the hand of the 'servant of the ghost' (*hen-ka*), but these were not intended as worship of the ghost; they were meant to ensure his happy transit through all the terrors of the under world and the final reunion of the parts of his body and soul in the celestial boat of the sun-god. The religious texts inscribed upon the walls of the tombs had a similar signification. They are all magical spells designed to keep the spirit of the dead man from harm and wandering; and to enable him, by means of formulae asserting his divine dignity, to win his way past all opposition to his position as a god and the equal of the gods. But no prayers are addressed to him as a god; and if they were, they would only be addressed to him as the god Osiris, not as an ancestor-god protecting his family and tribe. Of this conception we find no trace in Egyptian religion, except the position assigned to Horus, who, like his father Osiris, had reigned in Egypt, and was the predecessor, if not the progenitor, of its kings. But here again, as in the case of Osiris, the kings venerated their ancestor Horus, not because he was their ancestor and the founder of the monarchy, but because he was himself one of the great gods, and was also implicitly divine because he had been a king.

Thus it would appear that the deification of every dead man, or rather his identification with one particular deity, allowed no room for ancestor-worship, in the true sense, in Egyptian religion. No doubt possible traces of it may be discerned here and there in local beliefs, but in the main scheme of the national religion it had no place.

B. Cult of the dead.—As has been shown above, the deification of every dead man as himself the god Osiris resulted in the absence of any regular form of ancestor-worship in Egypt. The dead man was venerated as Osiris, not as an ancestor. Originally, however, this 'Osirian' doctrine was not common to the whole of Egypt. It seems to have originated at Dedu or Busiris, 'Osiris' town,' the modern Abusir near Samanūd, in the Delta. Here Osiris, far back in the primitive period, must have been simply the protector-god of the local necropolis, as the god Ptah-Seker, or Sokari, was the protector of the necropolis of Memphis, and Anubis, the jackal (confused at a very early period with Upuaut, 'Opener of the Ways,' the wolf-war-god of Siût), was the protector of that of Abydos. Anubis of Abydos was also identified with a shadowy deity, Khentamentiu, 'the Chief of the Westerners,' the latter being the dead, who were usually buried on the west bank of the Nile. Whether there was any idea among the primitive Egyptians that the Libyans of the western oases, who sometimes came within their ken, were the spirits of their dead in the West, and that the ruler of the dead was their chief, we cannot tell, but it seems probable that it was so. Khentamentiu, however, is never pictured, so we cannot

tell what he was supposed to be like; he had already become identified with the jackal Anubis before the dawn of history.

While, however, the protector of the necropolis of Abydos was regarded as a jackal, because the jackal had his abode among the tombs and prowled around them at night, so that the childlike mind of the primitive Egyptian, in fear of him as the ravager of the graveyards, easily came to venerate him, and to desire to placate him by worship as its protector, the Memphite and Busirite gods of the dead were conceived of as dead men; in the northern view the dead were ruled by the dead. The Busirite and Memphite deities, Osiris and Ptah, were closely related. Both were represented as human mummies, the first carrying the whip and flail, emblems of sovereignty, and the second the symbols of power, stability, and life. If the legend of the foundation of Memphis at the beginning of the First Dynasty has a historical basis, it may be that the resemblance of the form of Ptah to that of Osiris is due simply to the fact that the worship of Busiris had penetrated so far southward at that time that, when the necropolis of Memphis was constituted, its protective deity was given a shape differing but little from that of Osiris. However this may be, the Osiride Ptah seems very soon to have come to be regarded as the god of the living city of Memphis rather than that of its necropolis, though his mummy form shows that he was originally a god of the dead almost identical with the Busirite Osiris. Then he was conceived as exercising his function of protector of the necropolis in the form of a dead and mummied hawk, placed upon a coffin. Hence, perhaps, his name of Ptah-Sekri, 'the confined Ptah.' The hawk was an ancient symbol of divinity, and a dead hawk naturally symbolized a dead god. Later on, the peculiar Kabiric form of Ptah, which may really be older at Memphis than either the mummied man or the mummied hawk, and may, indeed, be the original form of the city-god before the Osiride form prevailed, was revered as 'Ptah-Socharis-Osiris.' This triple name combined Ptah, 'the confined one,' and the Busirite Osiris proper, in one deity of the Memphite necropolis (now known as that of Saqqāra, the village whose name is that of the ancient god). At Memphis this Socharis-form of Osiris was never replaced by the regular Busirite form, which prevailed elsewhere in Egypt. Doubtless this was because, at Memphis, Osiris was entirely identified with Ptah-Seker, while at Abydos he was introduced from the north and merely displaced Anubis, the latter preserving his name and individuality, and only ceding his title of *Khentamentiu* to his superseder.

Thus at Abydos and everywhere else in Egypt, except at Memphis, Osiris was figured in his original Busirite form, as wearing the royal crown in his capacity of king of the dead, just as the living Pharaoh was king of the living. Indeed, as has been noted above, an Euhemeristic view regarded him as a very ancient dead king, who now ruled the shades as he had once ruled the living, and his wife and sister, Isis and Nephthys, as having been his actual wife and sister in life, who bewailed him as he lay on his bier after his death at the hands of his wicked brother Set, the half-foreign deity of the wild desert. Gradually the worship of Osiris spread southwards over all Egypt, and at Siût and Abydos the guardian wolf and jackal diminished into his sons and servants, preserving their individuality, but ceding to him their local sovereignty. At Abydos the title of *Khentamentiu* did not finally pass from Anubis to Osiris till about the time of the Twelfth Dynasty. Thenceforward Abydos became the great centre of Osiris-worship, and

Busiris degenerated into comparative unimportance. The only real rival of Abydos as the headquarters of Osiris was the northern city of Mendes, in the Delta, only a few miles east of Busiris, where the god had at an early period become identified with the local animal-deity, a goat, who was called 'Soul of the Lord of Dedu,' *Bi-neb-ded*, afterwards pronounced Bindidi, Mindid, whence Mendes and the modern Mendid or Amdid. It is uncertain whether the goat of Mendes was originally a god of the dead or not; probably he was not. The 'Lord of Dedu,' whose 'soul' he was called, is, of course, Osiris, lord of Busiris. This title of *Neb-Dedet* was recognized throughout Egypt as one of the chief titles of Osiris, and on the stelæ at Abydos it is always accorded to him side by side with the old appellation of the Abydene Anubis, *Khentamentiu*.

With the worship of Osiris went the peculiar doctrines associated with his cult: the belief in resurrection, in the springing of life out of death, which made him a deity of renewed life as well as of death, and so identified him with the green corn-bearing Nile land as opposed to the waste deserts of his brother Set; and, most important of all, the peculiar doctrine of the identification of every dead man with the god, which became at a very early period the cardinal tenet of Egyptian belief with regard to the dead. This Busirite dogma was held even under the Old Kingdom by every Egyptian, and we may find his *credo* in this regard in the well-known '*suten-di-hetep*' formula of prayer for the welfare of the dead man, which appears on every sarcophagus, and on every stele or gravestone, and in which the god, whether Anubis 'on the Serpent-Mountain, Lord of Sepa,' or Osiris, 'Lord of Dedet, Khentamentiu, Lord of Abydos,' is besought to give a 'king's offering' (*hetep-suten*) of 'thousands of flesh, fowl, and everything good and pure on which the god there liveth, to the *ka* of the venerated N, the justified.' The venerated and justified dead man is the *god there*, the deified Osiris N in the tomb, though he may not definitely be called 'the Osiris N.'

Even when other deities were invoked to give the offering, as Amen-Râ or Hathor in the Theban necropolis over which they ruled, or Geb the god of the earth and the Circle of the Nine Gods, the dead man is still Osiris; he is not identified with Amen-Râ, Hathor, or Geb, although the fact that he is Osiris is not always mentioned. On the *ushabti* (see DEATH AND THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Egyptian]) he is always called Osiris, and in later times we find the formula definitely phrased thus, 'May Osiris . . . give a king's offering . . . to the Osiris N.' Osiris is asked to give an offering such as a king would give to himself, for every dead man was himself. The dead man was venerated, therefore, not as the dead N, a god because he was a dead ancestor, but as being one with Osiris. In this sense he was worshipped, and only in this sense may the Egyptians be said to have possessed a cult of the dead. Their cult of the dead was the cult of Osiris, and it was to Osiris that the *hen-ka*, or 'servant of the ghost' (usually a near relative of the deceased), made the offerings at the tomb, 'seeking to do honour to those there' [a polite periphrasis for the dead]. These offerings consist, in the words of the very interesting inscription on the stele put up by King Aahmes to the memory of his grandmother, Queen Teta-shera, 'in the pouring of water, the offering upon the altar, and the painting of the stele at the beginning of each season, at the Festival of the New Moon, at the feast of the month, the feast of the goingforth of the Sem-priest, the Ceremonies of the Night, the Feasts of the Fifth Day of the Month, and of the Sixth, the *Hak*-festival, the

Uag-festival, the feast of Thoth, the beginning of every season of heaven and of earth.'

Originally, of course, these honours (see DEATH AND THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Egyptian]) were paid primarily to the *ka*, or 'double,' of the deceased, which was supposed to reside in the tomb, and, had it not been for the universal adoption of the Osirian doctrine, they would undoubtedly have developed into a regular form of ancestor-worship, the *ka* of each person 'there' being worshipped as a god. We may perhaps even say that before the general adoption of the Osirian doctrine, the southern Egyptians did worship the *kas* of the dead, or even the *sahus* (see DEATH, etc.). We do not know how ancient the beliefs in the other spiritual parts of the dead man, the *ba*, or soul proper, and the *khu*, or intelligence, are. In any case, these other spiritual portions of the man never were specially venerated. They required no sustenance, therefore no offerings were made to them, such as were made to the *ka*. These offerings were made by the members of the family of the deceased persons, whose names were commemorated on stelæ, together with those of their living descendants 'who make their name to live upon earth' (*seankh renusen tep ta*). Several generations of the dead are often thus 'made to live' on the stelæ (see DEATH, ETC. [Egyptian]). The Egyptian 'cult of the dead' amounted to no more than this.

The worship of the supreme god of the dead, Osiris himself, as apart from the offerings made to the individual Osirises, the dead, was carried on in the usual manner. He had two great temples, at Abydos and Busiris, which disputed the possession of his most holy relic, supposed to be his actual body; and at Abydos he was supposed to be buried in a tomb which, by a misunderstanding of a hieroglyph, was identified with the tomb of the early monarch Tjer, the sign of his name being misread as *Khent*, 'chief,' and so identified with 'Khentamentiu.' He was worshipped also as the ram at Mendes, and as the bull Apis and in the Kabiric form at Memphis. The temple at Abydos was originally not his. In its lowest strata we find that his predecessor Anubis is the sole deity mentioned. Later on, as we have seen, Anubis and his 'brother' Upnaut, the wolf of Sît (the 'Mak-edôn' of Diodorus), accompany him as his 'sons' and attendants. The wolf was originally not a god of the dead or of Abydos at all, but was a war-god, of whom the wolf was a good symbol, as the 'opener of the ways' to the pack. But the kinship of the wolf to the jackal soon caused Upnaut to be regarded also as a fellow-protector of the tombs with Anubis at Abydos, and in later times he is exclusively a god of the dead, the double of Anubis. Isis and Nephthys, with the child Horus, naturally accompanied Osiris from the Delta, where they also had their origin. But they did not come much forward till a comparatively late period, when the triad Osiris, Isis, and Harpocrates took the place of the Theban triad Amen, Mut, and Khensu, which had become somewhat discredited everywhere except at Thebes after the end of the Theban domination. During that period Osiris had degenerated from the position of king of the dead to that of merely their judge; his kingly functions were usurped by Amen-Râ, the Theban 'king of the gods,' who during the night was supposed to sail in his solar bark through the under world, giving light to the spirits and accompanied by them in his course. But in the Saïte period Osiris not only returned to his position as king of the dead, but became king of the living also, for he took the place of Amen-Râ as supreme deity of Egypt, and the whole set

of myths connected with his name and those of Isis and Horus became the most important part of Egyptian religious belief. It was natural that this should be so then, when the centre of political gravity had shifted to the Delta, the original home of the Osirian religion. Later the Memphite sacred bull Apis, originally the animal of Ptah, but, on account of the confusion of the city-god with Socharis, also regarded as an incarnation of Osiris, came very much to the front, and the Ptolemaic Egyptians evolved a Græco-Egyptian deity, Sarapis (from *Asar-Hapi*, Osiris-Apis), out of the old Osiris, whose name now disappears. Finally, in the Roman period, Sarapis becomes identified with the old Nubian god of the dance and of music, Bes, and this godling, the most disreputable of the whole Egyptian pantheon, is venerated on the walls of ancient Abydos as the successor of Osiris, of Anubis, and of the primeval Khentamentiu.

LITERATURE. — Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, II, pp. 10, 359 and *passim*; Ednard Meyer, 'Die Entwicklung der Kulte von Abydos und die sogenannten Sobakalegötter' in *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, xli. (1904), 97-107 [with regard to the origin and relations of the Osirian doctrine, and the history of Anubis and Upuaut]; Budge, *Hist. Eg. I*, p. 19 [on the identification of the 'Tomb of Osiris' at Abydos]; Petrie, *Abydos ii*, [on the temple of Osiris there]; Curdell and Gardiner in *Abydos iii*, [on the stele of Tetashera]; Hall in *PSBA*, Jan. 1908 [on the *Suten-di-hetep* formula, etc.]. Generally, on the cult of the dead, the works of Budge, Erman, and Wiedemann on Egyptian religion.

H. R. HALL.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Fijian).—The Fijian divinities fall naturally into two divisions—the *Kalou-vu* ('Root gods') and the *Kalou-yalo* ('Spirit gods,' i.e. deified mortals). There is much truth in Waterhouse's suggestion that the *Kalou-vu* were of Polynesian origin, carried into Fiji by immigrants from the east and imposed upon the conquered Melanesian tribes in addition to their own pantheon of deified ancestors; and that Ndengei, who was undoubtedly a Melanesian ancestor, was adopted by the immigrants, as the Etruscan gods were by the Romans. The Fijian's belief in his own tribal divinity did not entail denial of the gods of other tribes. To the Hebrew prophets the cult of Baal-peor was not so much a false as an impious creed. In giving their allegiance to the chiefs who conquered them, it was natural that the Fijians should admit the supremacy of their conquerors' gods, who, by giving the victory to their adherents, had proved themselves to be the more powerful. Wainua, the great war-god of Rewa, is said to have drifted from Tonga; and his priest, when inspired, gave his answers in the Tongan language. The Rewans had given the chief place in their pantheon to the god of mere visitors.

First among the *Kalou-vu* was Ndengei, primarily a god of Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu, but known throughout Fiji except in the eastern islands of the Lau group. This god, evolving from the ancestor and tutelary deity of a joint family into a symbol of Creation and Eternity in serpent form, is a counterpart of Jupiter, the god of a Latin tribe, inflated with Etruscan and Greek myth until he overshadowed the ancient world as Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Ndengei and the personages associated with him are proved by the earliest myths of their home on the Ra coast to have been mortals deified as the first immigrants and founders of the race. If the Polynesian gods were originally deified ancestors, their deification took place at a period so remote that their descendants cannot be identified.

Ancestor-worship is the key to the Melanesian system of government. The Fijian's conception of human authority was based upon his religion. Patriarchy, if not the oldest, is certainly the most

natural shape into which the religious instinct of primitive man would crystallize. First there was the family—and the Pacific islands were probably peopled by single families—ruled absolutely by the father, with his store of traditions brought from the land from which he came. His sons, knowing no laws but those which he had taught them, planting their crops, building their huts and their canoes under his direction, bringing their disputes to him for judgment, came to trust him for guidance in every detail of their lives. Suddenly he left them. They could not believe that he, whose anger they had feared but yesterday, had vanished like the flame of yesterday's fire. His spirit had left his body; yet somewhere it must still be watching them. In life he had threatened them with punishment for disobedience, and, even now, when they did the things of which he disapproved, punishment was sure to follow—the crops failed; a hurricane unroofed the hut; floods swept away the canoe. If an enemy prevailed against them, it was because they had neglected him; when the yams ripened to abundant harvest, he was rewarding their piety. In this natural creed was the germ of government. Each son of the dead father founded his own family, but still owed allegiance to the earthly representative—the eldest son—in whom dwelt a portion of the father's godhead. Generations came and went; the tribe increased from tens to hundreds, but still the eldest son of the eldest, who carried in his veins the purest blood of the ancestor, was venerated almost like a god. The ancestor was now regarded as a *Kalou-vu*, and had his temple and his priests, who became a hereditary caste, with the strong motive of self-interest for keeping his memory green. Priest and chief tacitly agreed to give one another mutual support, the one by threatening divine punishment for disobedience, the other by insisting upon regular offerings to the temple.

That the cult of a common ancestor persisted for many generations is shown by the custom of *tauvu*, which means literally 'sprung from the same root,' i.e. of a common origin. It is applied to two or more tribes who may live in different islands, speak different dialects, and have nothing in common but their god. They do not necessarily intermarry; they may have held no intercourse for generations; each may have forgotten the names of its chiefs of five generations back, the site of its ancient home, and the traditions of its migrations; and yet it never forgets the tribe with which it is *tauvu*. Members of that tribe may run riot in its village, slaughter its pigs, and ravage its plantations, while it sits smiling by, for the spoilers are its brothers, worshippers of a common ancestor, and are therefore entitled in the fullest sense to the 'freedom of the city.' Sometimes the bond can be traced back to its origin, the marriage of the daughter of a high chief with the head of a distant clan. Her rank was so transcendent that she brought into her husband's family a measure of the godhead of her ancestors, and her descendants have thenceforth revered her forefathers in preference to those of her husband. Generally the bond is so remote that the common ancestor is known by the name of an animal or of a natural object, and the fact that his worshippers may not eat the animal suggests a trace of totemism of a bygone age. In such cases a young band from an overcrowded island may have crossed the water to seek wider planting lands.

Among the Viti Levu tribes of Melanesian origin there was a peculiar ancestral cult known as the *mbaki*, primarily devoted to a thanksgiving for the first-fruits and to initiation. The rites were held in rectangular stone enclosures, called *nanga* ('bed,' i.e. of the ancestors). These were built close to

the graves of dead chiefs, who were invoked to shower blessings on the tribe in ceremonies which degenerated into orgies of a sexual character. The rites were said to have been introduced by two old men who were found wandering on the sea-shore—strangers cast up by the sea, for they could not speak a word of Fijian. The initiated were sworn to secrecy, and the peculiarity of the rites was that initiated members of tribes with whom the owners of the *nanga* happened to be at war might attend the rites unharmed, and invoke the aid of spirits from whom they were not themselves descended.

The Fijians had a well-peopled mythology of the after life. The spirits of the dead had neither temples nor priests, for, as they left the living unmolested, the living were not called upon to make propitiatory sacrifices to them. They were kept alive by the professional story-tellers, who revived them after funerals, when men's thoughts were directed to the mystery of death. In a land where every stranger is an enemy, the idea of the naked shade, turned out friendless into eternity to find his own way to Bulotu, conjured up images of the perils that beset the lone wayfarer on earth, and the shade was made to run the gauntlet of fiends that were the incarnations of such perils. Though the story of the soul's last journey agreed in outline, the details were filled in by each tribe to suit its geographical position. There was generally water to cross, and a ghostly ferryman who treated his passengers with scant courtesy. There was Ghost-scatterer who stoned the shade, and Reed-spear who impaled him. Goddesses of frightful aspect peered at him and gnashed their teeth; Ravuravu, the god of murder, fell upon him; the Dismissal sifted out the real dead from the trance-smitten; fisher-fiends entangled cowards in their net; at every turn of the Long Road there was some malevolent being to put the shade to the ordeal; so that none but brave warriors who had died a violent death—the only sure passport to Bulotu—passed through unscathed. The shades of all Viti Levu and the contiguous islands and of a large part of Vanua Levu took the nearest road, either to the dwelling of Nengei or to Naithombothombo, the 'jumping-off-place,' in Bua, and thence passed over the western ocean to Bulotu, the birthplace of the race. No belief was more natural for a primitive people than that the land of which their fathers had told them, where the air was warmer, the yams larger, and the soil more fruitful, was the goal of their spirits after death.

When a chief died, his body was washed and shrouded in bark-cloth. A whale's tooth was laid on his breast to throw at the ghostly pandanus tree. If he hit the mark, he sat down to wait for his wife, who he now knew would be strangled to his manes; but if he missed, he went forward weeping, for it proved that she had been unfaithful to him in life. His tomb became his shrine. A roof was built over it to protect him from the sun and the rain. Kava roots and cooked food were laid upon it, that his spirit might feed upon their spiritual essence. And with each presentation, prayers for his protection were repeated. Indolent or ignoble chiefs were soon forgotten, and in times of prosperity the grass began to grow rank even over the bones of a doughty and masterful chief, but at the first breath of adversity his tomb was carefully weeded, and the offerings became regular. Some member of the priestly family would then become possessed by his spirit, and would squeak oracles in a high falsetto. The process of evolution from the tomb to the temple would now be very short. The peculiarity of ancestor-worship in Fiji is that men worshipped not their own, but

their chief's ancestors, to whom they themselves might have but a slender blood relationship.

BASIL THOMSON.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Hebrew).—The latest portions of the Hebrew Canon are, roughly speaking, contemporary with the earlier Jewish apocryphal writings; but it will for the present purpose be convenient to include the evidence of all the canonical writings of the OT under the heading 'Hebrew,' and to reserve the data found in the OT apocrypha, the Talmud, and other later works for the 'Jewish' section of the subject here dealt with. Probable dates of later Scriptures quoted in the section will, however, usually be given.

The question of ancestor-worship among the ancient Hebrews has been much discussed in recent times, the most systematic treatise on the affirmative side so far being Friedrich Schwall's *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (Giessen, 1892), which in the main follows the views previously laid down by Stade and Oort (see the literature at the end). A decisively negative answer is given in *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels* by Carl Grüneisen (Halle, 1900), who, whilst utilizing the arguments advanced in J. Frey's *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult in alten Israel* (Leipzig, 1889), attempts to establish his thesis on a more scientific basis than had been done before. This divergency of views rests, of course, not so much on questions of fact as on diverse modes of interpreting the many references to the departed found in the OT. The Hebrew Scriptures have, thanks partly to the relation they bear to all phases of life, and partly, no doubt, also to the judgment emphatically pronounced by Jahwism on other cults, preserved for us a far larger number of details connected with mourning and cognate matters than have so far come to light in the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. It is highly probable, however, that a common stock of ideas underlies both these branches of early Semitic beliefs and customs; for it is becoming more and more clear that pre-Mosaic Hebraism was thoroughly rooted—not by borrowing, but by original affinities—in the widely spread traditions of the general Semitic family.

This branch of the subject will be treated under the following heads: (1) Translation to heaven; (2) Teraphim; (3) Sacrifices and offerings to the dead; (4) Sanctity of graves; (5) Mourning customs; (6) Levirate law; (7) Laws of uncleanness; (8) Necromancy.

1. Translation to heaven.—Deification, if the term were here allowed at all,* could not possibly mean the same in the religion of Jahweh as in the polytheistic Babylonian religion; and yet it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the translation of Enoch recorded in Gn 5²⁴ originally belonged to the same class of beliefs as the transference of the Babylonian Sit-napishtin to the society of the gods. It has already been remarked (see § 1 of 'Babylonian,' art. above) that Sit-napishtin is in reality a combination of the Biblical Noah and Enoch; or, more probably, Noah and Enoch represent a splitting up of the one original personality of Sit-napishtin. However this may be, Enoch, like Sit-napishtin, was spared death and the descent into Sheol, which are the common fate of mortals; and the legitimate meaning of the phrase 'Elohim took him' is that he was transferred to a condition of close association with the Deity. Under the Jahwistic system of religion this would mean that he joined

* The use of the term might seem justified by the designation *elohim* applied to the ghost of Samuel in 1 S 28¹³, but it is there used only by the witch of Endor. Whether *elohim* = 'the dead' in 1 S 28¹³ is very doubtful. The idea of deification or semi-deification is, however, implied in a passage like Ps 82⁶, though *elohim* is there used of the living.

the company of angelic beings (cherubim, seraphim, etc.) which in prophetic imagery* (see Is 6; Ezk 1 and 10) surrounded the throne of Jahweh.

Another clear instance of the translation of a mortal to the company of heavenly beings, without having died and gone down to Sheol, is Elijah,† who passed from earth to heaven in a whirlwind (2 K 2¹¹); and a veiled example of transference to heaven immediately after death (i.e. without having previously gone down to Sheol) is, according to Rabbinic tradition (see *Deut. Rabba*, xi. 6), contained in Dt 34⁶, where the burial of Moses is apparently stated (see Driver, *in loco*) to have been undertaken by Jahweh Himself. Viewed in the light afforded by the translation of Enoch and Elijah, it seems likely that the Midrashic statements of the high favour accorded to Moses‡ are based on a tradition of great antiquity.

Different from the above-named instances, because pointing to an anti-Jahwistic stratum of belief in deification or semi-deification, is Is 63⁴, where the supremacy of Jahweh is emphasized by the admission made by the prophet on his own behalf or on that of the nation, that 'Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us.' The clear inference is that Abraham and Israel (or Jacob) were, as the departed ancestors of the race, regarded, by at any rate a portion of the nation, as tutelary deities who interested themselves in the condition of the people, and on whom one could call for succour in times of distress (see, e.g., Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, *in loco*, and *Last Words*; Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarkämme*, 1906, p. 285). The ideas connected with the term 'Abraham's bosom' used in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk 16^{22,23}) may not unfairly be regarded as a development from the deification of Abraham implied in the Isaianic passage quoted (see R. Winterbotham, 'The Cultus of Father Abraham,' *in Expositor*, 1896, li. pp. 177-186).

2. Teraphim.—It has been suggested (see, e.g., Schwally, *op. cit.* p. 35 ff.; Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 21 ff.) that the Teraphim, of which pretty frequent mention is made in the OT, were originally images of ancestors. But there is, so far, nothing to prove the correctness of this proposition. The word itself is of uncertain origin. Schwally's suggestion that *Teraphim* comes from the same root as *Rephaim* ('shades') fails to recommend itself on philological or other grounds. Sayce|| connects it with a Babylonian word *tarpu* ('ghost'). Perhaps equally admissible would be a connexion with the Ethiopic *terāf* (pl. *terāfāt*), which among other meanings has that of *excellētia*, *præstantia*. The plural *Teraphim* in the sense of *excellētia* would then be analogous to that of *Elohim* in its original plural signification, but it would at the same time afford no clue¶ as to what kind of exalted beings it represented. From 1 S 19^{12,16} (where Michal employs Teraphim to personate David on a sick-bed) we learn that the word was in the plural form used to denote a single image (thus lending itself, like *Elohim*, to a *pluralis majestatis*). The same passage shows that it bore a human form, but this fact by no means demonstrates its identity with an

* These prophetic ideas were probably grounded on much earlier modes of religious contemplation. Isaiah and Ezekiel need only have given a special Jahwistic finish to certain more or less known forms of Divine imagery. In the case of Ezekiel, the influence of his Babylonian surroundings is clearly discernible.

† Charles (*Eschatology*, p. 56) regards the translation of Enoch and Elijah as a step preparatory to the higher doctrine of the soul developed by Jahwism; but an analogous higher belief probably existed also among the Babylonians (see A. Jeremias referred to in § 1 of Babylonian art.). The tradition regarding Enoch is, moreover, in all probability far too early to fall in with Charles's theory. The truth seems to be that diverse theories and beliefs existed side by side among both the Babylonians and the ancient Hebrews.

‡ In the Midrash referred to, as also elsewhere, the spirit of Moses is said to have been separated from the body, not by the intervention of the angel of death, but by a kiss of Jahweh. Immediately after death he was placed under the throne of glory amidst cherubim, seraphim, and other angelic beings.

§ This inference from Is 63⁴ is, of course, independent of Ed. Meyer's general theory regarding the original divinity of some of the patriarchs.

|| See *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, s.v.

¶ It would be too venturesome to base a theory on the root-meaning of the Ethiopic verb *terāfa*: *religium esse vel ferri*, so as to make it refer to the continued existence of the departed.

ancestral figure.* In Jg 17⁸ 18^{17a}, at any rate, the Teraphim cannot denote a mere family deity, but the national God (Jahweh) Himself; for the image there spoken of belonged first to an Ephraimite and then to Danites, with a Levite as ministering priest in both cases (see the emphatic reference to a general cult in 18¹⁹). Nor does the testimony borne by 1 S 19 to the fact of the Teraphim having formed part of the usual equipment of a well-to-do family ['observe the Teraphim,' Charles, *op. cit.* p. 22] necessarily imply a connexion with ancestor-worship; for it is quite as likely that the national God Himself was thus represented in houses of private families.† Still less decisive is the consultation of Teraphim as oracles (with the sanction of the prevalent religion, as, e.g., Hos 3⁴; or without it, as, e.g., 2 K 23²⁴); for Jahweh Himself or any other deity could thus be consulted.

The *Elohim* before whom a Hebrew servant who wished to remain perpetually in his master's service was brought, in connexion with the ceremony of having his ear pierced with an awl at his master's door‡ (Ex 21⁶), have also been regarded by a number of scholars as images of ancestors and identified with the Teraphim. The momentary fixing of the servant's ear to his employer's door looks, indeed, like 'admission to the family cult with all its obligations and privileges,'§ and it is from this consideration that the idea of ancestral gods (or an ancestral god), being here represented by *Elohim*, derives its strength. But certain the conclusion is not; for the tutelary deity of the family need not necessarily be an ancestor, and may, in fact (as has already been remarked), be the national God Himself. Nor is it certain that images of any kind are here meant; for the term *Elohim* may bear the meaning of 'judges' (cf. Ex 22^{7,8,27} (Eng. vv. 8, 9, 28)), and see LXX, Dillmann and the Rabbinical Commentaries, *in loco*), and the piercing of the ear may have been a symbol of obedience (for illustrations, see Dillmann, *in loco*). If, however, the *Elohim* in Ex 21⁶ were images of ancestors, either the Mosaic legislator must have felt no antagonism between Jahwism and this form of the ancestral cult, or the images must at the time in question have come to be regarded as representatives of Jahweh Himself. On the former supposition the omission of the *Elohim* in the parallel Deuteronomistic passage (Dt 15¹²⁻¹⁵) would point to a later effort made to eliminate the ancestral idea from the ceremony. On the latter supposition the Deuteronomist would have aimed at discarding images generally (even of Jahweh Himself).||

There remain two references in the OT to Teraphim in connexion with non-Israelites, namely, the stealing of Laban's Teraphim by Rachel recorded in Gn 31, and the consultation of Teraphim by Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in Ezk 21²⁶ (Eng. v. 21). From the fact of the apparent common worship of the Teraphim by Hebrews, Arameans, and Babylonians, the conclusion has been drawn that ancestor-worship must be meant (see Schwally, *op. cit.* pp. 36, 37); for it would, so it has been argued, be difficult to find another cult that possessed the international character implied. Another such basis could, however, be easily imagined (any of the great powers of nature would indeed satisfy this requirement), and it is furthermore possible that the Teraphim (especially if the general meaning, *excellētia*, be adopted; see above) represented different kinds of deities among different nations. In the case of Ezk 21²⁶ there is also the possibility that the prophet merely expressed Nebuchadnezzar's manner of consulting oracles in terms of Hebrew speech, and that

* The argument that an ancestral image must here be excluded by the very fact of David's firm adherence to Jahweh (Charles, *loc. cit.*) is not sufficiently convincing, for a certain degree of veneration paid to departed forefathers may be quite compatible with monotheism or (as in David's case) with henotheism.

† For illustrations, see Grüneisen, *op. cit.* p. 181.

‡ This interpretation goes with the theory that the *Elohim* were household gods; if (see farther on) judges are meant, the door or doorpost would be that of the sanctuary or court where they sat.

§ So Charles, *loc. cit.*; it would, however, be more correct to omit the word *all* from the sentence. The perpetual servant still continued in the status of a dependent, and fell short of the privileges of a son of the house (except, perhaps, under special circumstances, when there was no son; see Gn 15²).

|| If judges were meant by *Elohim*, their omission by the Deuteronomist might have been due to the use of the word in that sense having become obsolete, although it might be urged that *shōphētim* would in that case have been employed instead.

Teraphim in the usual OT meaning of the word were not actually used by him.

It would seem, therefore, that so far we have no clear indication as to what deity or deities the Teraphim represented. All that can be said is that they may originally have been images of ancestors, and the fact of their having been (in many cases at least) household gods would be in consonance with the idea, though it cannot be adduced as a proof of its correctness.

3. *Sacrifices and offerings to the dead.*—As a clear reference* to the offering of food to the dead Dt 26¹⁴ may be claimed; the tithe-giver there makes the following declaration: 'I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I put away thereof being unclean, nor given thereof to the dead.'† Oort, Stade, Schwally, and others see in this declaration a prohibition (and therefore an evidence of the custom) of sacrificial offerings to the dead, understanding the text to mean that the tithe sacred to Jahweh was not to be perverted to idolatrous practices connected with the worship of the dead; but the general bearing of the entire declaration suggests only the provision of sustenance. The evidence for sacrifices offered to the dead must therefore rest on other grounds (see farther on). The fact, however, that every single tithe-giver had to make the statement in question proves that the practice of feeding the dead, or a strong disposition towards it, was wide-spread among the people, and perhaps also in the higher grades of society.

This is one of the indications showing that the ancient Hebrews shared with their Babylonian kinsmen the belief in the continuance of the human personality after death, and in its need of sustenance in Sheol, the Hebrew equivalent of the Babylonian *Šu'ālu* or *Ardlu*. But whilst in Babylonia and Assyria the early customs connected with the belief were allowed to flourish by the side of the State religions, Jahwism strove with all its might to suppress them. In a measure it succeeded; but popular ideas are not easily rooted out, and the practice continued for a considerable period of time in different parts of the country. The various and partly conflicting references to the dead met with in the OT are largely to be explained by this conflict of Jahwism with the ancient cult and the frequent recrudescence of heathen ideas in all their original force. That, however, Jahwism made substantial progress in the course of time, is shown by the fact that Jahweh, who was originally only a territorial God, gradually acquired authority even over Sheol, as is evidenced by His power of bringing up the dead from the under world mentioned in 1 S 2⁶ (hardly later than c. 700 B.C. [Driver]), and by the belief in His presence there recorded in Ps 139⁸ (close of Persian age [Cheyne]). There is here another point of contact with the (probably likewise later) Babylonian belief which regarded Marduk and other deities as 'raisers from the dead' (see § 1 of 'Babylonian' art.); but the chief interest of the fact lies in the slow but sure preparation for the higher Hebrew doctrine of monotheism and the later Jewish belief in the resurrection as taught in Dn 12 (probably Maccabean) (see Charles, *op. cit.* p. 132 *passim*).

Of direct evidence for the presentation of sacri-

* Schwally's attempt (*op. cit.* p. 22) to construe Jer 16⁷ into an evidence to the offering of sustenance, and even of sacrificial gifts to the dead, is not convincing (see Grüneisen, *op. cit.* p. 130); but so far as sustenance is concerned, the evidence of Dt 26¹⁴ is quite sufficient.

† Driver (*in loco*) does not decide between the claims of this rendering and that of 'for the dead,' which might then be taken to refer to funeral repasts offered to the mourners by their friends. But the phrase would hardly be natural in that sense. Among the Rabbinic commentators, Abraham ibn Ezra suggested an idolatrous intention, introducing this explanation by 'and some say.'

ficial offerings to the dead there is not much. The reference to a family sacrifice in 1 S 20²⁹ is not conclusive; for although there is much to be said in favour of the idea that the blood-relationship with an ancestral god lay at the base of such a family offering,* it is conceivable that a deity other than ancestral was in the case mentioned the object of common worship (see what has been said in § 2 on the family deity). The treasures found in the sepulchre of King David (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 4, XVI. vii. 1; *BJ* I. ii. 5), and doubtless also in those of other kings, may originally have had the character of a sacrificial offering (Schwally, *op. cit.* p. 24); but it is also possible that they were merely intended to serve as an ample provision for the dead monarch's needs. The divers kinds of spices with which the grave of King Asa was filled (2 Ch 16¹⁴) might have been nothing but an extension of the use of spices in the preparation of the body for burial; but the 'very great burning' which was made for the same king would seem to point at least to the offering of incense† to the departed. The prevalence of the practice in the case of kings is attested by Jer 34⁶; and its spread among the people is in all probability proved by the term *mesār-phō* (מֶסֶר פֹּה, 'he that makes a burning for him,' rather than 'he who burns him'; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, s.v. מֶסֶר) in Am 6¹⁰. Ezk 43⁷⁻⁹ offers very strong evidence of the idolatrous worship of departed kings (see § 7), and the offering of sacrificial gifts must have formed part of such worship.‡ The evidence from oracles (see § 8) points in the same direction, for an offering of some kind would naturally precede the consultation of the dead. On the probable offering of hair made to the dead, see § 5; and there is, besides, the tendency to connect a propitiatory purpose with the ordinary presentation of sustenance to the departed; and if the analogy from the Babylonian custom be taken into account, it becomes pretty certain that among the ancient (pre-Mosaic and anti-Jahwistic) Hebrews also sacrifices to the dead were, to say the least of it, not uncommon.

4. *Sanctity of graves.*—The question concerning the veneration of graves is closely connected with that of sacrifices to the dead; for if the latter question be answered in the affirmative, the graves of ancestors would have to be regarded as the places where the sacrificial offerings were made. Viewed in this light, there is much in favour of the opinion that the *massēbah* set up by Jacob on the grave of Rachel (Gn 35²⁰) was intended to mark it as a spot devoted to her worship.§ The name *Allon-bacuth* ('oak of weeping') given to the tree under which Rebekah's nurse, Deborah, was buried (Gn 35⁸), proves nothing; and Cornill's conjecture (*ZATW* xi. pp. 15-21) that the erection of a *massēbah* and the libation of oil poured on it recorded in Gn 35¹⁴ referred in the original form of the text to Deborah's grave, cannot, of course, be treated as an ascertained fact. Nor can the circumstance mentioned by Schwally (*op. cit.* p. 58), that graves, like the sanctuaries of Jahweh Himself, were put on heights, be cited in favour of intended sacrificial worship there; for the same writer records the well-known fact that tombs in Palestine were, apparently for other reasons, generally rock-hewn.

The stress laid on family graves (as more especially the cave of Machpelah, Gn 23²², etc.), with

* See W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*, Lect. II, *passim*.

† Unless it was merely intended to render the passage to Hades pleasant.

‡ The eating of sacrifices to the dead mentioned in Ps 106²⁸ is brought in as a foreign custom (connected by parallelism with Baal-peor), but at the same time it shows a tendency among the Hebrews to adopt it.

§ Of the *massēbah* set up by Jacob at Bethel for the worship of Jahweh (Gn 28¹⁸). The worship paid to Rachel would no doubt be of a secondary kind.

which the phrase 'being gathered to one's fathers' has been connected, may legitimately be regarded as a desire 'to introduce the departed into the society of his ancestors' (Charles, *op. cit.* p. 12); but the passages relating to these sepulchres contain (in the form at any rate in which the texts have been handed down to us) no reference to sacrifices or offerings of any kind.

There is, however, apart from family graves, the strong testimony of Is 65⁴ ('who remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments'), which, as an evidence of necromancy practised at graves (see § 8), demands not only the supposition that offerings were there made in order to obtain a hearing from the dead, but also that from the general idolatrous point of view such graves (declared doubly unclean by Jahwism; see § 7) were regarded as sacred. At least as strong is the evidence from Ezk 43⁷⁻⁹. On both passages, see § 7.

5. Mourning customs.—Several of the mourning customs of ancient Israel are very obscure, and a careful scrutiny is required before anything like a decision can be arrived at on any single point. It will therefore be best to consider these customs separately.

(a) *The mourner put on sackcloth.*—The sackcloth, with which the application of ashes or earth is sometimes mentioned, was in very early times in all probability a loin-cloth only, the tearing and entire putting off of the usual garments having preceded the 'girding on' of it (see esp. Is 32¹¹). Mic 1⁸ ('I will go stripped and naked'), especially if taken in conjunction with the phrase, 'in nakedness and shame' of v. 11, points to a still earlier custom, when the mourner went quite naked; but the general practice of putting on sackcloth as a substitute for all other garments must have set in pretty early, and considerable modifications* both in the form of the sackcloth and in the direction of putting on other apparel may have been gradually, though not universally, made in later Biblical times.

The putting on of sackcloth has been claimed as a mark of submission to a superior (cf. 1 K 20^{31, 32}), and the fact of Isaiah having apparently worn it as his usual garment† (Is 20²) has been taken to show that it was also considered a holy garment (see Schwally, *op. cit.* p. 12). The practice would on either explanation point to one form or another of ancestor-worship. Jer 48⁷, where the putting on of sackcloth is mentioned together with cuttings in the hands, etc., places it in the category of usages which have been claimed to possess a ritual value (see farther on). But it is, on the other hand, psychologically very probable that the meaning lying at the base of the practice is that of self-humiliation,†—a sentiment which would equally accompany the attitude of submission to a superior, and the marks of grief at losing a beloved relative or companion, and which might also suit the prophet attending on Jahweh. The primitive entire nakedness of the mourner, to which reference has been made, reminds one of the fact that on the Stele of Vultures (see § 3 of the 'Babylonian' art.) the dead are shown to have been buried naked.‡ The mourner might therefore have desired not to appear at greater advantage than the mourned dead. Later on, sackcloth would be assumed by the

mourner in deference to the altered public sense of decency, and the modifications referred to would gradually follow. If this view be correct, the close association of the sackcloth with ritual usages (Jer 48⁷) may belong to later times. On the suggestion that the practice of wearing sackcloth was adopted with the object of deceiving the dead as to the identity of the mourner, see farther on.

(b) *The mourner put off his sandals.*—The putting off of one's sandals in connexion with mourning is not so frequently mentioned as the girding on of sackcloth, but it was no doubt meant to accompany it regularly (see, e.g., Ezk 24¹⁷, 2 S 15³⁰). Passages like Ex 3⁵, Jos 5¹⁵ show that no sandals were to be worn at sacred places. Hence the supposition that it was essentially a ritual practice. But here again the original meaning was probably self-humiliation, which would suit both the grief of mourners and the attendance at sacred places.

(c) *The mourner cut off his hair, or beard, or both.*—The cutting off of the hair in connexion with mourning is mentioned, e.g., in Mic 1¹⁸ ('make thee bald and poll thee for the children of thy delight'); the removal of the beard as a sign of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem is recorded in Jer 41⁵; the two together are found in Is 15². The characteristic feature in cutting off hair on these occasions consisted in making a baldness 'between the eyes' (Dt 14¹), which must mean over the middle part of the forehead (see Driver, *in loco*), although in different parts of the country hair from other parts of the head was probably also cut away. The beard was apparently cut off entirely.*

Tylor, Oort, W. R. Smith, and others favour the idea that the hair so cut off was designed as an offering to the dead—a theory which is strongly supported by numerous analogies from the customs of the Arabs† and other races. The offering of hair in the ritual of Jahweh is clearly attested in the case of the Nazirite (Nu 6¹⁸), and the practice would seem less strange in the ritual of the dead, who, according to old ideas, stood in need of all the things that appertained to the living.

Another plausible explanation would be that the cutting off of the hair from head and chin was a kind of adjunct to the removal of one's clothes. Everything, it may have been held, was to be discarded that served as an ornament or protection to the body, not only the clothes, but also the hair. The idea of self-humiliation, which might have been involved in the act, is supported by the fact that the cutting off of the beard (see 2 S 10⁴, and the parallel passage 1 Ch 19⁴) was regarded as an indignity. This idea would, however, not be incompatible with the simultaneous sacrifice of the hair. The dead might be benefited, and the living at the same time humiliated.

A third explanation that has been offered of this, and, in fact, of all the mourning customs connected with apparel and bodily mutilation, is that these rites had the object of deceiving the dead as to the identity of the living, so as to escape any evil which recognition might bring with it.‡ This idea seems, however, un-Semitic, and it certainly does not fit in with other notions regarding the dead in early Hebrew times. Beings who could be called *yiddē'ônīm* (דִּידְעֹנִים 'knowing ones'), and to whom one resorted for oracles, could hardly be deceived by a change of garments or other disguise on the part of the living. They certainly could not be deceived by taking off one's sandals, which is also pressed into the service. The examples, moreover, from the customs of other races (including the Romans), quoted by the supporters of this theory, are for the most part capable of another explanation. The opposite

* This is required by the verbs *galaḥ* and *gada'* used in the passages quoted. In 2 S 10⁴ the verb *karath* is used, and *hal'* the beard is expressly mentioned (in 1 Ch 19⁴ [parallel passage] the verb *galaḥ* is, however, used, and apparently the entire beard meant).

† See esp. W. R. Smith, pp. 823-826.

‡ For a full exposition of this view (adopted also by Kautsch in Hastings' *DE*, Ext. Vol. 614^b), see Grüneisen, *op. cit.* p. 95 ff. J. G. Fraser (*JAI* xv. p. 73 ff.), on whose remarks regarding Bohemian and other customs Grüneisen and others primarily based the theory, expresses himself, however, doubtful as to the meaning of the cutting off of the hair spoken of here (ib. p. 73).

§ The Biblical statements affirming the impotence and shadowy character of the dead are mainly due to the weakening influence exercised by Jahwism on the ancient cult; so in Job (probably time of Bab. captivity [Driver]) 14^{13, 14}, the dead are affirmed to know of nothing but their own pains, and in Ec 9¹⁰ (c. 200 a.c. [Nöldeke and others]) Sheol is stated to be devoid of work, device, knowledge, and wisdom. Allowance must, of course, also be made for different streams of thought in very early times.

* This supposition is borne out by the somewhat conflicting data regarding the wearing of sackcloth. The verb *ḥagar* which is used with *saḥ* appears to show that a loin-cloth was originally meant (cf. *ḥāḡōrah* in Gn 37), and the word *moṭānām* ('loins') is expressly employed where *ḥagar* is not used. In as late a work as the Ascension of Isaiah (1st cent. A.D.) the prophets spoken of in 2¹⁰ are said to be naked, notwithstanding the sackcloth that was on them. On the other hand, the verbs *lavash* and *kasah* are also used with *saḥ*, and *ḥagar* is also employed with *ḥaphod*, etc.; and a passage like 'to spread sackcloth and ashes under him' (Is 65⁹), clearly points to a different kind of cloth from that put round the loins. For a fuller discussion on this point, see on the one side Schwally (*op. cit.* p. 11 ff.), and on the other Grüneisen (*op. cit.* p. 79 ff.). Whether in any case the *saḥ* ever had the form of a corn-sack with a slit at the top (see Kamphausen in Rehm's *HWB*, art. 'Sack'), is a different question.

† Cheyne (*Prophecies of Isaiah, in loco*) regards it as an 'outer garment,' and explains the word 'naked' in, e.g., 1 S 19²⁴ to mean 'without the outer garment.' But one can hardly accept this as a natural explanation of the term.

‡ See J. Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube*, etc. p. 42.

§ It is, of course, possible that the circumstance was there due to the exigencies of war.

treatment of the hair by men and women in times of mourning (each adopting the unusual course, men, e.g., covering their heads at funeral ceremonies, and women letting their hair fly loose about them) may surely be explained as a species of self-neglect expressive in each case of self-humiliation induced by grief; and a similar explanation would be applicable to several other customs.

The Jahwistic prohibition in Dt 14¹ of making a baldness between the eyes for the dead furnishes a strong presumption in favour of regarding the act as a ritual observance connected with the worship of the dead; and the ground of the prohibition ('ye are children of Jahweh,' and a 'holy people' to Him) strengthens the theory that it was directed against an opposing religious cult. The place described as lying between the eyes may have for this very reason been chosen for the *šōšaphōth** (Dt 11¹⁸ etc.), by which every Israelite was to be marked as a devotee of Jahweh, unless it was independently chosen as the most conspicuous part of the head. The absence of a prohibition regarding the removal of hair from other parts of the head and from the beard in connexion with mourning is probably owing to the fact that, according to Lv 19²⁷, it was prohibited under all circumstances.†

(d) *The mourner made cuttings in his flesh.*—Cuttings in the flesh, accompanied by removal of the beard and tearing of garments, appear as a general custom in Jer 41⁶, notwithstanding its distinct prohibition in Dt 14¹, thus showing that the Deuteronomic legislation could make its way only very gradually. Instead of the verb *hithgōdēd* used in the two passages mentioned, and the form *gdūdhōth* found in Jer 48²⁷, there is in Lv 19²⁸ the command not to make a *sēref* (also tr. 'cutting') for a dead person, or to print any marks (writing of *ka'aka*) on the flesh, the latter being evidently a kind of tatu. If the theory of making oneself unrecognizable by these disfigurements be discarded, there remains only the idea of thereby 'making an enduring covenant with the dead' (W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.* p. 322 f.).‡

That cuttings in the flesh were parts of religious ritual is, moreover, proved by the action of the priests of Baal recorded in 1 K 18²⁸. The fact that these incisions, as also the making of a baldness between the eyes, were prohibited by Jahwism, whilst the wearing of sackcloth, etc. was never interfered with, would seem to show that these groups of acts belonged to different categories, thus forming another reason for rejecting the theory that they had all the purpose of making the living unrecognizable to the dead.

(e) *The mourner covered his head or beard.*—The covering of the head (e.g. 2 S 15³⁰, Est 6¹²) and the beard (Mic 3⁷, Ezk 24¹⁷) as a mark of mourning on account of death or other calamity might be explained, with Schwally and others, as a substitute for cutting off hair from head and beard. But the covering of the face in 2 S 19² [Eng. v. 4] (the clearest instance of actual mourning) reminds one of the same act performed in the presence of Jahweh (Ex 3⁶, 1 K 19¹⁸). As the covering of the face was there prompted by the fear of beholding the Deity (cf. Ex 33^{18, 22}), it seems likely that the mourner was also afraid of seeing the ghost of the departed (which is, of course, different from deceiving the ghost by a disguise). It is possible, however, that the covering of the face was merely an extension

* Usually translated 'frontlets'; see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, s.v. *ḥṣṣ*. The modern *tephillin* (known as phylacteries) consist of a part for the left arm, and another to be placed over the middle part of the forehead.

† For the probable ground of this general prohibition, see Dillmann, *in loco*.

‡ Driver explains that 'the Israelites, being Jehovah's children, are not to disfigure their persons in passionate or extravagant grief' (on Dt 14¹⁻⁵). But it is doubtful whether grief would have generally gone the length of these mutilations, and the ground assigned for the prohibition (see the text above) appears to indicate an opposing religious cult.

of covering the hair, and the idea that the latter act was a substitute for removing the hair might therefore be maintained. As the hair of the head and beard was regarded as a personal ornament, the covering of it might, in any case, be expressive of self-neglect or self-humiliation occasioned by grief.

No evidence of ancestor-worship can be derived from the extant accounts of the two remaining* customs, namely, (f) the *lamentation over the dead*, with its accompaniment of weeping and striking different parts of the body with the hand; and (g) the *partaking of food and drink by the mourners*† in connexion with funeral ceremonies. The lamentations were natural or professional (see Jer 9¹⁸ [Eng. v. 17] expressions of grief, and need—so far as the texts in their present form go—neither have been ritually addressed in worship to the dead (Schwally, *op. cit.* p. 20 f.) nor intended to scare away the ghosts of the departed by much howling (Grüneisen, *op. cit.* p. 100). The lamentations of David over Saul and Jonathan and over Abner (2 S 1^{17, 26} 3³⁴) certainly show no trace of either intention. With regard to funeral repasts, Schwally's attempt to construe Jer 16⁷ into a decidedly ritual act has already been referred to (§ 3). The text, as it stands, speaks only of food and drink offered to the mourners by way of comfort. On the uncleanness connected with the 'bread of mourning' in Hos 9⁴, see § 7.

6. *Levirate law.*‡—A close relationship has been claimed between ancestor-worship and the law of levirate, which, in the form given to it in Dt 25⁵⁻¹⁰, enacts that when brothers 'dwell together,' and one of them dies without leaving male issue, the surviving brother (no doubt the eldest, if more than one) was to marry the widow, and that the first-born son of this union was to be considered the son of the departed brother, so 'that his name be not put out of Israel.' The supposition is that the original object of the institution was to provide the dead man with a son to carry on his cult (so, e.g., Stade, Schwally, Charles)—an object which must be assumed to have been entirely forgotten in the time of the Deuteronomic legislator. In the case of Ruth (where the law is found to extend over the whole clan), the object is 'to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance' (Ru 4⁵). Absalom (2 S 18¹⁸) puts up for himself a pillar in his lifetime, because he had no son to keep his name in remembrance. In Gn 38 (where, under an older form of the law, all the children would have apparently belonged to the departed) the ground stated is merely that of raising up a posterity to the departed.§ But if the institution—as it is quite reasonable to suppose—had from the first, besides the desire of leaving a memorial of one's name, a close connexion with the law of inheritance, it is impossible to eliminate the idea of the cult of the departed altogether, as the son or sons thus provided for the dead man, as inheritors of his property, would, under pre-Mosaic religious notions, be expected to charge themselves with the sustenance (and probably also sacrificial offerings) due to the departed. This broader basis of the levirate law would seem to be required by the extant data and the considerations arising from them, and it also

* An attempt has been made to connect the festival of Purim with the Persian *Forvordigen*, which was a kind of All Souls' Day; but if so, the story of Esther must have been purposely altered beyond ordinary recognition. See, on the one side, Schwally, *op. cit.* p. 48 ff.; on the other, Grüneisen, *op. cit.* p. 128 ff. The other literature will be found in these works.

† The supposition that sympathizing friends and neighbours provided the mourners with this nourishment is strengthened by the fact of the same custom obtaining among the Jews at the present day.

‡ For the custom, under partly different rules, among other races, see esp. Westermarck, *Hist. of Human Marriage*, p. 510 f. § On J. F. M'Lennan's theory that the law originally rested on a polyandrous system of marriage, see Driver, *Deut.* p. 234.

does justice to the fairly complex state of society which already obtained in those early days. So far as the element of the cult of the dead is concerned, it is important to mention that the *Kaddish* (see § 3 in the 'Jewish' article), which, like acts of Jewish public worship in general, is to the present day confined to males, also seems to bear traces of a survival (in a much modified form) of the religious services rendered to the departed by his surviving sons.

7. *Laws of uncleanness.*—The laws of uncleanness relating to dead human bodies (see esp. Nu 19¹⁴⁻¹⁶) can be satisfactorily explained by the almost universal fear of contamination* arising from the contact or close vicinity of decaying bodies that obtained in ancient times. The ancient Egyptians,† it is true, busied themselves much with corpses, but then they took every possible care to prevent decay setting in. In the Mosaic law the abhorrence of dissolution also affected not only animals that were forbidden as food, but also clean ones if not slain in proper ritual fashion (Lv 11). Leprosy, which was similarly loathed, is also ritually unclean (Lv 13), though here the fear of contagion must have been an important factor.

It is likely that this fear of contamination was in early times merged into the general notion of savage races, that everything connected with birth, disease, and death involved the action of superhuman agencies of a dangerous kind (see W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*² 444 f.), analysis and differentiation of causes being a product of gradual mental development; but it would be rash to identify these agencies with ancestral spirits. On the contrary, the fact that dead human bodies are regarded as unclean among a number of races with a strongly developed system of ancestor-worship (see Grüneisen, *op. cit.* p. 114) proves that the two are independent of each other. Worship may be given to the departed spirits of ancestors, and contamination may at the same time attach to their dead bodies. The regulation of Nu 19¹⁵, that an open vessel with no covering round it, which has stood in the tent of a dead person, is unclean, whilst covered vessels remain clean, can be suitably explained by the idea that the covering protects the vessel from contracting contamination, and need not point to the fear that the ghost might take up its abode in the open vessel.

The pollution connected with the bread of mourners (צֶמֶת טָהוֹר) referred to in Hos 9⁴ is also explicable without a reference to a Jahwistic opposition to ancestor-worship. For the meal offered to mourners by way of comfort may be all that is meant; and if so, the uncleanness would only be that of ordinary contamination contracted by contact with dissolution.

An additional tabu, arising from opposition to the religion of Jahweh, would come in only in cases where a sufficiently recognizable element of ancestor-worship or some other heathen form of the cult of the dead showed itself; and as such practices were demonstrably not uncommon among the ancient Hebrews (see esp. § 3), the additional tabu would be of a correspondingly wide application. But the dead body itself would probably in such cases be affected only in so far as the spirit may have been supposed to linger about it, for, as has already been remarked, the cult of the dead was not necessarily connected with the notions entertained of the body.

In the case of priests (Lv 21¹²) greater restrictions against contact with dead bodies are imposed, because the contamination would make them for a time unfit for Jahweh's service. The ground of the main ordinance there given cannot be opposition to ancestor-worship, for the persons whose obsequies priests may attend (father, mother, etc.) are just those to

whom the heathen cult of the dead would chiefly apply (see Grüneisen, *op. cit.* p. 112). The order, however, not to remove the hair from head and beard, or make cuttings in the flesh, appears (unless v. 5 be regarded as unconnected with the rule regarding obsequies) to have the meaning that, although priests may take part in the funeral rites of very near relatives, they must abstain from anything connected with heathen mourning ceremonies, more particularly as in their case this additional tabu, like that of uncleanness *per se*, would naturally be of greater stringency than in the case of laymen.

The strongest instance of the combined tabu of ordinary contamination and heathen worship appears in Ezk 43⁷⁻⁹, where tombs of kings erected quite close to the sanctuary of Jahweh are clearly stated to have been places of a rival worship (note their *zenith*, a usual term of unfaithfulness to Jahweh, borrowed from the relationship of marriage), whereby the 'holy name' of God is defiled. A similar double tabu is presented by Is 65⁴, where graves, which are unclean in themselves (Nu 19¹⁶), are used for purposes of necromancy.

8. *Necromancy.*—Though the Teraphim cannot be demonstrated to have been originally images of ancestors (see § 2), there is ample independent evidence of the practice of necromancy among the ancient Hebrews. The spirits of the departed were called *yidd'ōnīm* ('knowing ones') by those addicted to the practice, and the *ōbōth* (usually rendered 'familiar spirits') also represent a form of necromancy, the calling up of the spirit of Samuel on behalf of Saul (analogous to the calling up of Eabani by Gilgamesh) having been effected by a woman possessed of an *ōb* (*bā'dlath'ōb*, 1 S 28⁷).^{*} In Isaiah 8¹⁹ the people are distinctly charged with inquiring of the dead on behalf of the living; and Is 65⁴ may safely be regarded as a strong evidence of necromancy practised at graves.†

The practice was decidedly anti-Jahwistic, and is everywhere forbidden (whereas the inquiry of Teraphim is not always prohibited, see § 2). As has already been remarked, necromancy, which is in itself an important part of the cult of the dead, is, at the same time, an indirect evidence to the offering of propitiatory gifts to the spirits consulted.

Summary.—In summing up all the extant evidence, the same result is, in the main, obtained as in the Babylonian section. The OT embodies indubitable traces not only of the popular cult of the dead, but also of a certain degree of actual worship paid to ancestors and departed kings and heroes. But the importance of these practices has been much exaggerated. There is no ground for thinking that ancestor-worship was the only or even the chief religion of pre-Mosaic Israel. On the contrary, various parts of the OT show clearly that Jahwism had to maintain at least as keen a struggle against the worship of the heavenly bodies and of various other powers of nature as against the cult of the dead. It is also true that in a certain modified form the exaltation of departed heroes, more especially of the spiritual type, was from the first quite compatible with the religion of Jahweh; and the final monotheistic development of Mosaism left still more room for the glorification of great human personalities in one form or another.

LITERATURE.—Works of F. Schwally, C. Grüneisen, R. H. Charles, and others have been more or less frequently quoted. A very full bibliography will be found in Grüneisen's book. Add A. Lods, *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiq. Ier.* (1906). Of earlier works in favour of ancestor-worship, notice esp. Oort, 'De doodenverering bij de Israëlieten,' *ThT* xv, p. 350 ff.; Stade, *GVII* i, pp. 387-427. W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*², and other publications contain much that bears on the problem. J. Frey (*Id., Seelenglaube*, etc.) tries to prove that though there was a belief in the soul, no cult of the dead (in the sense of paying homage to them) existed among the ancient Hebrews. Kautsch (*Hastings' DB*, Ext. Vol. pp. 614-615) agrees in the main with Grüneisen (animism, but no ancestor-worship). Among com-

* See Dillmann (*Die Bücher Ex. u. Lev.* p. 479), who also brings in the idea that Jahweh was a God of life, not of death. On the far-spread fear of contamination connected with death, see, e.g., A. P. Bender in *JQR* viii, 109, 110. The removal of a corpse to the 'tower of silence,' lest it should pollute the sacred earth, is one of the most necessary duties of Parsiism.

† In the New World the Peruvians offered a fairly close parallel to the Egyptians in this respect (see Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, book i, beg. of ch. iii.).

* The fact of Saul bowing to the ground at the appearance of the spirit of Samuel (1 S 28¹⁴) might be regarded as an evidence of worship paid to the dead, though perhaps it was still the prophet who was thus honoured.

† Cf. Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, in loco. At graves the spirits of the departed would be more naturally consulted than demons.

mentators (some of the leading modern commentaries have, as occasion required, been referred to), Solomon Yishāqi, Abraham ibn Ezra, and David Kimhi will on a number of points still be found helpful.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Indian).—1. In India the worship of ancestors lies at the root of all the funeral rites. As now explained by official Brāhmanism, the object of these is to provide the departed spirit with a kind of 'intermediate body interposed, as it were parenthetically, between the terrestrial gross body which has just been destroyed by fire, and the new terrestrial body which it is compelled ultimately to assume' (Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, 277). This writer goes on to say that this intervenient body, composed of gross elements, though less gross than those of earth, 'becomes necessary, because the individualized spirit of man, after cremation of the terrestrial body, has nothing left to withhold it from re-absorption into the universal soul except its incombustible subtle body, which, as composed of the subtle elements, is not only proof against the fire of the funeral pile, but is incapable of any sensations in the temporary heaven or temporary hell, through one or other of which every separate human spirit is forced to pass before returning to earth and becoming re-invested with a terrestrial gross body.' Unless it be provided with this new body, the soul must, like the ghosts of the unburied Homeric dead (Homer, *Od.* xi. 54; *Il.* xxiii. 72), wander about as an impure *preta*, or ghost, on the earth or in the air, among demons and other evil spirits, into the state of which it will eventually pass unless it be protected by the performance of the Śrāddha provided by its relatives on earth. Further than this, the new body thus created for the spirit must be nourished and supported, and the spirit must be aided in its progress from lower to higher worlds and back to earth by the performance of the periodical Śrāddha rites. This duty of the relatives is among orthodox Hindus supposed to be finally discharged only when the rite is performed at some specially sacred place. Gayā in Bihār is the most appropriate place for these rites, while the Hindus of the west, for the obsequies of a mother, prefer Sidhpur in the Baroda State. Hence also arises the necessity of begetting a male heir, which is urgently felt by all Hindus, as is also the case in China. Using a folk-etymology, Manu (*Institutes*, ix. 138) derives the Skr. name of a son, *putra*, as if it were *putra*, 'he that delivers his father from the hell called Put.'

2. Feeding the dead.—This orthodox conception of the Śrāddha—that it is intended to provide an 'intermediate' body for the departed soul—is a later development. The Śrāddha was really evolved from the custom of feeding the dead, a rite common among all savage and semi-savage races. 'Like the habit of dressing the dead in his best clothes, it probably originated in the selfish but not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave and not come plaguing the living for food and raiment' (Frazer, *JAI* xv. 74 f.). The custom is well established among many of the Indian tribes. Thus, among the Nagas of Assam, the corpse is watched with great care, and when decomposition sets in, quantities of spirits are thrown over it. Whatever the deceased was in the habit of eating and drinking in his lifetime (such as rice, vegetables, and spirits) is placed once a month on the ground before the dead body. At the end of the period of mourning, a great feast, consisting of liquor, rice, and flesh of cows and buffaloes, is prepared, and the members of the clan in war dress partake of it. Among the Luhupa sept of the same tribe the cattle sacrificed are eaten,

with the exception of one leg, which is buried under the head of the dead man to serve as food for him in the grave. Among the Angāmi sept, on the first day after a death, meat is distributed among the relatives and friends of the deceased. The next day they assemble at the house of the dead man, eat part of the meat, and each member of the sept of the deceased throws a piece of liver out of the house to the distance of some eight paces. On the third day portions of the cooked rice are tied up in leaves, and buried outside the house on the fourth day. On the fifth day the platter and cup of the dead man are hung up in the house and left there till thirty days have passed, when they are given to a friend of their former owner. The funeral rites end with the sacrifice of a cock, the flesh of which is eaten by all the members of the family (*JAI* xxvi. 196 f.).

Among a more civilized race, the Nāyars of Malabar, the Seshakriyā, or rite of making offerings to the spirit of the dead, commences on the day after the cremation ceremony, and continues for seven days. All male members of the Taravād, or sept of the deceased, bathe, and the eldest mourner taking with him a strip of cloth which he has torn from the dead man's shroud (probably in order to maintain communion with the dead), and a piece of iron (to scare evil spirits), brings some half-boiled rice, curds, and other articles of food, and places them in the north-east corner of the courtyard, which is believed to be the abode of the spirit. A lamp, which is also probably intended to drive off demons, is lighted beside the food. A piece of palmyra leaf, about a foot long and a finger broad, is taken, and one end of it is knotted. The knotted end is placed in the ground, and the other left standing up. This represents the deceased, and to it the food is offered. 'The place where the piece of leaf is to be fixed has been cleaned carefully, and the leaf is placed in the centre of the prepared surface. The offerings made to it go direct to the spirit of the deceased, and the peace of the Taravād is secured' (Fawcett, *Bulletin Madras Museum*, iii. No. iii. 247 f.).

The custom of providing food for the dead is common among the lower castes in Northern India. In Bengal the funeral rites of the Gonds last for three days, after which the mourners purify themselves by bathing and shaving, and make offerings of bread and milk to the spirit of the departed. Among the Kāmis, the blacksmith caste of Nepāl, 'on the eleventh day a feast is prepared for the relatives of the deceased; but before they can partake of it a small portion of every dish must be put on a leaf-plate and taken out into the jungle for the spirit of the dead man, and carefully watched until a fly or other insect settles on it. The watcher then covers up the plate with a slab of stone, eats his own food, which he brings with him to the place, and returns to tell the relatives that the dead man's spirit has received the offering set for him. The feast can then begin.' The Bhakat Orāons preserve the bones of the dead, to be interred in the tribal cemetery. 'At this festival pigs and great quantities of rice are offered for the benefit of departed ancestors, who are also held in continual remembrance by fragments of rice or dāl (pulse) cast on the ground at every meal, and by a pinch of tobacco sprinkled whenever a man prepares his pipe' (Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, i. 293, 395, 92).

The Māl Pahārīās, who identify the Lares, or ancestors, with Gūmo Gosāin or Gūmo Deota, the gods of the wooden pillar which supports the main rafters of the house, perform the same rite in another way. 'Around this centre are grouped a number of balls of hardened clay, representing the ancestors of the family, to whom the first-fruits of the earth are offered, and the blood of goats or fowls

poured forth at the foot of the pillar that the souls may not hunger in the world of the dead' (Risley, ii. 71). The custom of offering first-fruits to the ancestral spirits is very common, and has been fully illustrated by Frazer (*GB* ii. 480, 482 ff.). The Mechs, again, adopt another method to secure that the offering may reach the etherialized souls of the dead. When the corpse is buried, 'a small fire is kindled upon the grave, in which food and drink are burned for the benefit of the deceased' (Risley, ii. 89 f.). The Māls provide for the needs of the departed in another way, by lighting on the night of the worship of the goddess Kālī, in the month of October-November, dried jute stems in honour of their deceased ancestors, 'and some even say that this is done to show their spirits the road to heaven' (*ib.* ii. 50).

In other parts of Northern India rites of the same kind are performed. The degraded Ghasiyas of Mirzapur, at the annual mind-rite for the dead, lay out five leaf-platters containing the usual food of the family, with the prayer: 'O ancestors, take this and be kind to our children and cattle' (Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, ii. 417). The Kols, whenever there is a tribal feast, offer a fowl to the spirits of the dead, and pour a little liquor on the ground, with the prayer: 'Do not injure us or our children' (*ib.* iii. 311). The Rājās, who are perhaps the most degraded people in this part of India, content themselves with shaving the heads, beards, and moustaches of the sons and younger brothers of the dead man, and throwing the hair on the grave as an offering to the spirit (*ib.* iv. 213). The ritual of the Nats, a tribe of wandering acrobats, is more remarkable. The mourners cook food on a river-bank, and spread a cloth on which the ghost is supposed to sit. The nearest relative, taking an earthen cup and a knife in his hand, plunges into the water. The cup he places on his head with the knife upon the mouth of it, and then dives until the cup becomes filled with water. This he deposits under the cloth on which the spirit is supposed to sit, and lays a cup of water at each corner of the cloth. Within the enclosure thus made food is laid for the refreshment of the spirit, who is invited to partake of the meal. When the spirit is supposed to have done eating, they say: 'Go and join those who have departed before you' (*ib.* iv. 63 f.). Even more elaborate than this is the rite performed by the Musahars, a tribe which has hardly risen above the condition of wanderers in the jungle. After the corpse is flung into a river (which is their usual mode of disposing of the dead), a tree near the spot is selected as a refuge for the spirit, and food and water are laid at its foot for nine days in succession. At the time of presenting these offerings, the chief mourner invokes the dead: 'Come, O dead one, from the palace of Indra! Come and eat the food of this world! Take it and return to thy palace.' These offerings are allowed to lie for some time on the place where they were deposited, and are then removed by the mourner, who cooks and eats the food, throwing a morsel on the fire for the use of the dead, and repeating the invocation already made at the tree. The offerings are changed daily during the period of mourning, and the rite ends with a clan feast of the dead (*ib.* iv. 31 f.).

In the United Provinces, among the various branches of the outcast Dom tribe, the idea of feeding or propitiating the spirits of the dead is combined with that of barring or preventing the return of the ghost, which is believed to afflict the survivors. Thus, among the Basors, some sacrifice a hog in the name of the dead man, with the object of providing the spirit with food; while others kill the animal, cut off its legs, and bury the trunk in the courtyard of the house of death, as a sort of sympathetic charm to prevent the spirit from rising

out of its grave and afflicting the family (Crooke, *op. cit.* i. 226). Very similar is the custom of the Dhāngars, among whom, on the tenth day after death, the mourner sacrifices a pig in the name of the deceased, and, cutting off its feet and snout, buries them under a stone in the courtyard, with the invocation to the spirit: 'I have buried you here, never to come out; you must rest here in spite of the spells of an exorcist, or of any one else who may try to wake you' (*ib.* ii. 269).

3. *Vicarious feeding of the dead.*—From this crude belief in the possibility of feeding the spirits of the dead, the transition to the theory that this can be done vicariously is easy. Among some of the Indian castes survivals of the primitive matriarchy are found in the custom of providing for the feeding of the spirits by the bestowal of food on relatives in the female line. The Bhoksas of the sub-Himalayan Tarāi, every year in the month set apart for mourning, feed the descendants of their daughters in order to propitiate the ghosts of the dead; and, for the same reason, the Juāngs of Bengal and other menial tribes of Northern India employ the maternal uncle of the person making the offering as priest (Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 58; Risley, *op. cit.* i. 353). The next stage appears when the Patāri, or tribal priest of the non-Aryan peoples of the Vindhyan and Kaimūr ranges in the centre of the peninsula, is invited, as a right attaching to his office, to share in the funeral feast. When we reach the higher castes of Hindus in the Plains, we find the custom of feeding Brāhmans prevalent. The belief is that food consumed by them passes on to the spirits. In fact, all through Northern India, large numbers of Brāhmans, generally drawn from the younger members of the families which provide *purohīts*, or family priests, or from those branches of the caste which have settled down to an agricultural life and have no body of religious clients, exist only to be fed. These people flock in numbers to attend the death rites of wealthy people. At places like Gayā, whither the pious journey to perform the final death rites of their friends, a special class of Brāhmans has the monopoly of attending to be fed on such occasions.

4. *Annual rites for the dead.*—The establishment of an annual celebration, like the All Souls' Day of Christendom, when the dead are specially remembered and offerings of food are provided for them, appears among the most primitive tribes. Thus the Luhupa Nāgas of Assam, once every year in the month of December, hold a solemn festival in each village in honour of those members of the community who have died during the preceding year. The village priests conduct the rites, which culminate on the night of the new moon. On this occasion, they believe, the spirits of the dead appear at a distance from the village in the faint moonlight, wending their way slowly over the hills, and driving before them the victims slain for them or the cattle which they have stolen during their lives. Finally, the procession disappears over the distant hills, amidst the wailing of those who have lost relatives during the year (*JAI* xxvi. 194). The period consecrated by orthodox Hindu usage to the propitiation of the spirits of the dead is known as the *Kanāgat*, so called because it takes place in the sign of Kanyā, or Virgo, or *pitra-paksha*, 'ancestors' fortnight,' occurring in the moonless half of the month Kār (August-September). This fortnight is specially devoted to the death cult, and the pious offer sacred balls (*pinḍa*) in memory of their ancestors. During this time the pious fast; others abstain only from meat, or eat fish instead of it.

5. *Ancestor-worship among the non-Aryan tribes.*—The cult of the dead, so far as it extends to the provision of food for the spirits of the dead, is thus

not confined to the higher castes, but is widespread among the non-Aryan part of the population. Sometimes, as in the case of the wild Kurubāras of Mysore, this worship is one of fear, and is devoted to the propitiation of the Virika, or spirits of ancestors who have died unmarried, and are thus supposed to be malignant (Buchanan, *Journey*, i. 397). The Yerukalas, one of the forest tribes of the Nilgiri Hills, sacrifice, in conjunction with other gods, to the Pitris, or Manes of their ancestors (Oppert, *Orig. Inhabit.* 204). In the Bombay Presidency many of the ruder Hindu tribes, such as the Dhor Kāthkaris and Vaitis of Thāna, the Kunbis of the Konkan, Atte Kunbis, and Halvaki Vakkals of Kānara, worship their ancestors, usually in the form of an unhusked coconut (*Gazetteer*, xiii. 165, 182, xv. 217, 249, 203). The Bhils of Khāndesh combine the cult of their ancestors with that of the Mātās, or Divine Mothers, and the same is the case with the Central Indian branch of the tribe (*ib.* xii. 93; Malcolm, *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.* i. 72). Gonds in the Central Provinces worship the family dead on the third day after a death, and on every Saturday and feast day (*Hislop, Aboriginal Tribes*, 25; *Gazetteer*, 278). In Chota Nagpur the Kisāns and Bhuiyars adore their ancestors, 'but they have no notion that the latter are now spirits, or that there are spirits and ghosts, or a future state, or anything'; the Bhuiyars revere their ancestors under the name of Bir or Vira, 'hero,' a title which, as we have seen, is often applied to malignant spirits; the Kharrias put the ashes of their dead into an earthen pot and fling it into a river; afterwards they set up in the vicinity slabs of stone as a resting-place for them, and to these they make daily oblations; the only worship performed by the Korwas is to their dead relatives, but this statement of Dalton is more than doubtful (*Dalton, Descript. Ethnol.* 132 f., 139, 160, 229). Among the Khonds the cult is very highly developed. 'The beatified souls of men enjoy immediate communion with all the gods; they are in rank little inferior to minor gods, live with them, and much after their fashion. Every tribe invokes the souls of deceased ancestors in endless array at every ceremonial, after invoking the minor gods; and they especially remember those of men renowned for great or good actions, as for reclaiming waste lands, for extraordinary bravery, for wisdom in council, or for remarkable integrity of life. They believe that beatified souls, although wholly without power, may act as intercessors with some of the gods, as with Dinga Pennu, on the one point of inducing him to restore lost relations speedily to their homes' (Macpherson, *Memorials of Service*, 95).

Among that remarkable people the Kāfirs of the Hindu-kush, though the fact is denied by them, there are distinct traces of ancestor-worship. They have the custom of making straw effigies of the honoured dead, which are paraded at their funerals, and one year after his death an effigy is erected to the memory of every Kāfir of adult age. These images are of various kinds, carved out of wood with axes and knives on conventional models. 'The more ponderous kinds,' says Robertson, 'are roughly fashioned in the forest, and are then brought into the village to be finished. Some of the best images have a manikin seated on the left arm holding a pipe; others have similar little images perched on the chair-handle. Several of the large images have all manner of quaint designs and carving over their bodies. Some even look as if the carving were intended to imitate tattooing, such as the Burmese are so fond of. The people have a good deal of superstition about these effigies. Bad weather which occurred while a slave was carving some images for me to take to India,

was ascribed to the fact that images were being taken from the country. . . . The images are often decorated with wisps of cloth bound round the head, and, where the juniper-cedar is easily obtainable, by sprigs of that tree fastened to the brows. The faces of the effigies are carved precisely like the idols, and similarly white round stones are used for the eyes, and vertical cuts for the mouth, or rather the teeth. The effigies are provided with matchlocks, or bows and arrows, axes and daggers, carefully but grotesquely carved, and commonly have a cart-wheel-shaped ornament in the middle of the back. The effigies of males are given turbans, while those of females have a peculiar head-dress, which is possibly a rough imitation of a horned cap. Before these images of the eminent dead sacrifices are made, and their pedestals are sprinkled with blood by their descendants when they are suffering from sickness. Long stones are also erected to serve as a kind of cenotaph, and a goat is always killed when the pillar is erected. The Kāfirs also celebrate a festival, known as Marmma, in honour of the illustrious dead; and the last two days of the Duban feast are devoted to dancing, feasting, and singing ballads in honour of the departed heroes of the tribe' (Robertson, *Kāfirs of the Hindu-kush*, 636 ff., 414 f.).

6. *The Śrāddha*.—The mind-rite of orthodox Hindus, known as the Śrāddha (Sanskrit *śrat*, 'faith,' 'trust,' 'belief'), is a more highly developed form of the primitive funeral feast and of the custom of feeding the dead. Even so late as the time of Manu (*Institutes*, iii. 267-271) the idea of providing food for the dead was recognized. 'The ancestors of men,' he writes, 'are satisfied a whole month with sesamum, rice, barley, black lentils or vetches, water, roots, and fruit, given with prescribed ceremonies: two months with fish, three months with venison, four with mutton, five with the flesh of such birds as the twice-born may eat, six months with the flesh of kids, seven with that of spotted deer, eight with that of the deer or antelope called Epa, nine with that of the Ruru deer; ten months are they satisfied with the flesh of wild boars and wild buffaloes, eleven with that of hares and of tortoises, a whole year with the milk of cows and food made of that milk; from the flesh of the long-eared white goat their satisfaction endures twelve years. The pot-herb *Ocimum sanctum*, the prawn, the flesh of a rhinoceros or of the iron-coloured kid, honey, and all such forest grains as are eaten by hermits, are formed for their satisfaction without end.' He further directs (iii. 205 ff.) that an offering to the gods should be made at the beginning and end of a Śrāddha. 'It must not begin and end with an offering to ancestors; for he who begins and ends with an oblation to the Pitris quickly perishes with his progeny.' The Brāhman is directed to smear with cow-dung a purified and sequestered piece of ground, with a declivity towards the south. 'The divine manes are always pleased with an oblation in empty glades, naturally clear, on the banks of rivers, and in solitary spots.' The officiant is then to seat the assembled Brāhmins, and he is to honour them, 'having first honoured the gods with fragrant garlands and sweet odours.' The feeding of Brāhmins at the mind-rite was thus customary. As another lawgiver directs, 'Whatever mouthfuls at a Havyakavya (or Śrāddha) are eaten by the Brāhmins are eaten by the ancestors' (Wilson, *Indian Casts*, i. 366). To drop the oblation into the hands of a Brāhman is, Manu lays down, equivalent to putting it into fire. 'If his father be alive, let him offer the Śrāddha to his ancestors in three higher degrees; or let him cause his own father to eat as a Brāhman at the obsequies. Should his father be dead, and his grandfather be

living, let him, in performing the obsequies of his father, celebrate also his paternal grandfather. Having poured water with holy Kusa grass and sesamum into the hands of the Brāhman, let him give them the upper part of the cakes, saying, "Śrāddha to the Manes." That fool who, having eaten of the Śrāddha, gives the residue of it to a man of the servile class, falls headlong down to the hell named Kālasūtra. The superfluous Pinḍas, or holy balls, may be given to a Brāhman, to a cow, to a kid, or consigned to fire' (iii. 220 f., 223, 249, 261).

The form of the modern Śrāddha rite is most intricate, and includes a number of minute observances, the ritual of which is elaborately prescribed. In the form of the rite known as Ekoddishṭa, which is performed for the benefit of a single deceased individual, for ten days after the cremation lamps are kept lighted for the benefit of the Manes, to light the ghost during its progress to join the Pitris or sainted dead, either in a temple, or under a sacred fig-tree, or on the spot where the obsequial rites are to be performed. These, technically called *Kriya-karma*, should take place near running water; and the spot is hence known as the *ghāt*, the usual term applied to the steps used for bathing at a river or tank. One condition is that it must not lie to the west of the house of death. This place, when selected, is carefully smeared with clay and cow-dung, a fireplace is erected, and beside it an altar of white clay, also smeared with the dung of the cow. The officiant, with his top-knot tied up, first bathes, and then standing with his face to the south, the land of spirits, offers a lamp, sesamum, barley, water, and sprigs of the sacred Kusa grass (*Poa cynosuroides*), with a dedication to the Manes. The object of this rite is to allay the extreme heat and thirst which the spirit must undergo during cremation. This ends the ceremonies of the first day, and during the next ten days, either once or twice daily, the rite of feeding the spirit is performed. For Brāhman rice, the original sacred grain, and for Kshatriyas, and the illegitimate sons of Brāhman, barley-flour, are prescribed. These grains are boiled in a jar of copper, the old sacred metal, mixed with honey, milk, and sesamum, and then made into a small ball (*pinḍa*), which is offered to the spirit with the invocation that it may obtain liberation, and reach the abodes of the blessed after crossing the hell called Rāurava (Manu, *Institutes*, iv. 88). By this rite the creation of a new body for the disembodied soul begins. On the first day one ball is offered, on the second two, and so on until during the observances of the ten days fifty-five balls have been offered.

The motive of the offerings appears in the numerous invocations which are made at various times in the service. One runs thus: 'Thou hast been burnt in the fire of the pyre and hast become severed from thy brethren; bathe in this water and drink this milk, thou that dwellest in the ether without stay or support, troubled by storms and malignant spirits; bathe and drink here, and having done so be happy.' Another hymn is as follows: 'Let the lower, the upper, the middle fathers, the offerers of soma, arise! May those fathers who have attained the higher life protect us in the invocations! Let this reverence be paid to-day to the fathers who departed first, to those who departed last, who are situated in the terrestrial sphere, or who are now among the powerful races, the gods. Do us no injury, O Father, on account of any offence which we, after the manner of men, may commit against you. Fathers! bestow this wealth upon your sons, now grant them sustenance. Do thou, O resplendent God, along with the fathers who, whether they have undergone

cremation or not, are gladdened by our oblation, bless us' (Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, v. 297).

By these ten days' rites the spirit has been enabled to escape from the same number of different hells, and gradually a new body with all its members has been created. The order in which the members of this new body are formed is sometimes thus defined. On the first day the dead man gains his head; on the second his ears, eyes, and nose; on the third his hands, breast, and neck; on the fourth his middle parts; on the fifth his legs and feet; on the sixth his vital organs; on the seventh his bones, marrow, veins, and arteries; on the eighth his nails, hair, and teeth; on the ninth all remaining limbs and organs and his manly strength. The rites of the tenth day are usually specially devoted to the task of removing the sensations of hunger and thirst which the new body then begins to experience. The house and the vessels which it contains are purified so as to remove the last taint of the death pollution; the fireplace at the scene of the obsequies is broken, and a handful of water is offered to the ether to assuage the thirst of the spirit. After bathing at a spot higher up the stream than that where the obsequies were performed, the officiant and other relatives go homewards, first being sprinkled with the five products of the sacred cow (*pañcha-gāyā*), and taking care to lay a ball of uncooked meal on the road behind them, so as to attract the attention of the ghost and dissuade it from returning in their company.

On the eleventh day the chief rites consist in the gift of a cow (*kapila-dāna*) to the chief Brāhman, and the loosing of a scape-bullock (*ṛṣotsarga*) in the name of the deceased. This seems to be partly a survival of the ancient rite of animal sacrifice, and partly a means of removing the tabu of death (Frazer, *GB* iii. 13 ff.). It is released with the dedications: 'To father, mother, and relatives on the father's and mother's side, to the family priest (*purohita*), wife's relatives, those who have died without rites, and who have not had the due obsequial ceremonies performed, may salvation come by the loosing of the bullock!' At the present day the animal is usually branded with the divine emblems of the discus and trident, and henceforth is allowed to wander free in the village lands. Food is again cooked, and offered to the Manes, with the invocation: 'You have finished your course, and have reached the abodes of bliss. Be present, though invisible, at this rite.' The general effect of the ceremony is that the spirit ceases to be a disembodied ghost, and becomes enrolled among the sainted dead. On the twelfth day food is again offered, and water poured at the root of a sacred fig-tree for the refreshment of the spirit.

The rite done for the benefit of one individual person (*Ekoddishṭa Śrāddha*) is quite distinct from the annual propitiation of the Manes of the family. On the last day of this feast all ancestors are named and propitiated, but sacred food balls (*pinḍa*) are offered only for the three male ancestors on the father's side—the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. The idea prevails that the ancestor, once united with the sainted dead, needs no further special propitiation. The non-Aryan tribes believe that, like themselves, the spirits of the dead are mortal. What becomes of them after a couple of generations no one cares to say. But when that period has elapsed, they are supposed to be finally disposed of, and, being no longer objects of fear to the survivors, their worship is neglected, and attention is paid only to the more recent dead, whose powers of mischief are recognized. The Gonds propitiate only for one year the souls of their departed friends, and this is done even if they have been persons of no note in their lifetime.

But with worthies of the tribe the case is different, and if one of them has founded a village or been its headman or priest, he is regarded as a god for many years, and a small shrine of earth is erected to his memory, at which sacrifices are annually offered (Hislop, *op. cit.* 16 f.).

No Śrāddha is performed for girls who die unmarried, and for boys only if they have undergone initiation and investiture with the sacred thread. Special rites are performed in the case of those whose ghosts are universally regarded as malignant. Such cases are those of a woman dying in childbirth or in a state of impurity. Her corpse is generally anointed with the five products of the cow, sprinkled with water, a little fire is placed on the chest, and it is then either cremated or flung into running water. In such cases it is a common rule that no rites are performed until the ninth day after death, when, if the family can afford the cost, the ceremonies of the last few days, as already described, are performed. To these are added a special rite of expiation, which is intended to free the household from pollution. Similar rites of a special kind are performed when a man is drowned, dies on an unlucky day, or in the case of one originally a Hindu who becomes an outcast, a Christian, or a Musalmān. In this rite, which is known as Nārāyaṇa-bali, 'oblation to the god Nārāyaṇa,' the Śrāddha of expiation is usually performed over an image of the deceased, made of barley or some other grain (*Bombay Gazetteer*, xx. 522 f.; Risley, *op. cit.* i. 286, ii. 191; Crooke, *op. cit.* i. 90, 210, ii. 465).

The Śrāddha is performed throughout India with more or less variety of practice by all orthodox Hindus. Among the castes of a lower grade the primitive custom of feeding the dead has been to some degree extended after the example of their Hindu neighbours. The main point of difference is the abbreviation of the rite, which does not extend over a period so long protracted as in the case of the orthodox, and the ceremonial is very often limited to the last few days of the mourning season.

7. *Hindu worship of the Pitris.*—The question remains—how far the Hindus can be said to 'worship' the Pitris. In the earliest Vedic period the worship paid to the Manes was distinct from that of natural phenomena. 'It is not denied that the Hindus made gods of departed men. They did this long after the Vedic period. But there is no proof that all the Vedic gods, as claims Spencer, were the worshipped souls of the dead. No *argumentum a ferro* can show in a Vedic dawn-hymn anything other than a hymn to personified Dawn, or make it probable that this dawn was ever a mortal's name' (Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 10). The general theory seems to have been that ancestors are of a class different from that of the gods, and that though they are divine and possessed of many godlike powers, so that the Vedic poet thus invokes them, 'O Fathers, may the sky-people grant us life; may we follow the course of the living,' yet they are distinct from the gods, and never confounded with them (*ibid.* 143, 145). Hence, in the Vedic ritual of the Śrāddha, when the officiant invites the gods and ancestors to the feast, he does so with two separate invocations (Colebrooke, *Essays*, 114). Speaking of the Vedic conception of Yama, the god of death, Barth thus writes: 'It is there, at the remotest extremities of the heavens, the abode of light and the eternal waters, that he reigns henceforward in peace and in union with Varuna. There, by the sound of his flute, under the branches of the mythic tree, he assembles around him the dead who have lived nobly. They reach him in a crowd, conveyed by Agni, guided by Pūshan, and grimly scanned as they pass by

the two monstrous dogs who are the guardians of the road. Clothed in a glorious body, and made to drink of the celestial soma, which renders them immortal, they enjoy henceforward by his side an endless felicity, seated at the same tables with the gods, gods themselves, and adored here below under the name of Pitris, or fathers' (*Religions of India*, Eng. tr. 22 ff.). When we come to the Atharva Veda, we first encounter the specific doctrine of the elevation of the Pitris. The due performance of rites raises them, we are told, to a higher state; in fact, if offerings are not given, the spirits do not go to heaven. This view was still further extended in a later period. It is when we reach the Epic period that we find a progressive identification of the gods and the Pitris. 'The divinities and the Manes are satisfied with the oblation in fire. The hosts of gods are waters; so, too, are the Manes. . . . They are both of one being' (*Mahābhārata* i. 7. 7 ff.). The poet speaks also of the Manes worshipping the Creator, Prajāpati Brahmā, in his Paradise. It is in the Purāṇic period, when the Indian religious imagination ran riot, and produced that vague and complex system which is the basis of modern Hinduism, that we find them mixed up with Vedic gods and a host of other objects of devotion, like the bird Garuḍa and the world-snake Sesha. But throughout this progressive development the Pitris seem invariably to lack that criterion of worship which we have already fixed. They are never regarded as independent divine beings; on the contrary, stress is always laid upon the fact that they depend upon their friends on earth for continuous aid and maintenance, and that their advancement to a higher stage is impossible without the due performance of rites done by their pious descendants.

LITERATURE.—The authorities have been freely quoted in the course of this article. The best authority on the funeral rites of Hindus is still Colebrooke's essay in *Asiatic Researches* (1801), vii. 232 ff.; reprinted in *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*, ed. 1858, 93 ff. A good account of the modern rites will be found in Atkinson, *Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts* (1882-84), ii. 863 f., 917 ff.; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life* (1886), 391 ff. Full details are given in the caste articles in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, edited by Sir J. Campbell.

W. CROOKE.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Iranian).—The Zarathushtrian religion, as known from the Avesta, comprises an elaborate system of religious thoughts and moral habits founded on the idea of two universal powers, one heavenly and pure, the world of Ahura Mazda (Ormazd), and its contrast, the bad and impure world of the devils, the head of whom is Angra Mainyu (Ahriman). In this religion, according to its theoretical scheme, the ancestors, or the souls of the dead, play no part; but practically, in the popular customs and beliefs, the cult of the dead still survives. Parsism not only permits this popular worship, but even finds room for it in the official ritual, so that in the Yashts of the later Avesta we read a voluminous litany to angels or ghosts, in whom, no doubt, are to be recognized the souls of the dead, especially those of the ancestors. But it must be observed that these primitive ghosts are difficult to recognize in the shape that is given them in this Avestan composition, being often placed in the epical evolution as heroes or kings of old, as patrons or protectors of persons, families, or provinces, or as heavenly angels or genii, fashioned after the national and religious ideas of the Iranians.

These ghosts are in the Avesta called Fravašis (Pahlavi *Farvardin*), and are invoked in the 13th, or *Fravardin*-Yasht. The word Fravashi means in the Avestan language 'confession,' the Fravashi being a personification of the belief of the pious, his genius or his *alter ego*, who protects him and takes care of him during his lifetime, and who

will, in time, receive him in the other world. Under this theological fabric is no doubt concealed a more primitive idea of a being which in some way belongs to human nature as part of his soul or as the principle of his life, nourishing him and giving him growth. These original functions of the Fravashis may be traced in the Avesta itself, when it tells that Ormazd, through these angels, makes all plants and herbs spring out of the earth, gives offspring to the herds, shapes the child in the mother's womb, gives it all its limbs, lets it be born, and grants the mothers many children. Originally these beings may have conferred these boons themselves without the direction of any supreme god, thus fulfilling the functions that ordinarily belong to the province of the ancestors.

This character of ancestral patronage becomes yet more conspicuous when we read Yasht xiii. 64 ff. Here we see how the Fravashis, when drought menaces the land, hurry to the heavenly lake Vourukasha, and how they quarrel in order to procure water, 'each for his own family, his own village, his own tribe, his own country.'

That the Persians themselves looked upon the Fravashis as souls, we learn from Yasna xxvi. 7: 'We invoke the souls of the dead (*iristhānām urvano*), the Fravashis of the righteous, the Fravashis of all our kinsmen that have died in this house, the Fravashis of men and women, of both sexes we invoke' (similarly Yasna lxxi. 23). The little we know of the exterior of the Fravashis fits in with this definition. 'They come flying like a well-winged bird,' we read in Yasht xiii. 70. The souls, then, were imagined in the shape of birds; as the Egyptian *ba* and as the souls in the Assyrian hell are described; as the souls, according to Greek beliefs, left the bodies on the point of death under the guise of birds—the same idea as still confronts us in European folklore (cf. von Negelein, 'Seele als Vogel' in *Globus*, lxxix. 357-361, 381-384; Goldziher, *ib.* lxxxiii. 301-304).

The cult of the Fravashis has had its fixed place and its special time in Zoroastrianism; the time was the period *Hamaspāthmaēdaya*, March 10th-20th, i.e. the five last days of the year plus the five intercalary days, which days the Indo-European peoples always were wont to consecrate to the souls of the dead. Further, the Fravashis are always invoked in the evening, viz. in the *Aiwisrūthrima Aibigaya* (cf. Yasna i. 6; Gāh. iv. 1-2), being the first part of the night from 6 to 12,—the usual time reserved for the cult of the dead by kindred nations. We derive our information about the customs of this cult from Yasht xiii. 49-52: 'We invoke the good, the mighty, the holy Fravashis of the righteous, who descend to the villages at the time of the *Hamaspāthmaēdaya* and return thither every night for ten nights to ask for help. Will anybody praise us? Will anybody pay homage to us? Who will accept us amongst his own? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with a handful of meat and a garment, and with sacred reverence?' Everybody who fulfils his duty to these Fravashis—we are told in the same Yasht—shall have his house filled with good things during the coming year (Yasht xiii. 51 f.).

This custom survived far into the Middle Ages; the Arabian chronologist al-Bīrūnī testifies that the Persians during these days placed the meat in the rooms of the deceased, or on the roofs of the houses, believing that the dead conversed with the family; then they burnt juniper as incense in their honour (i.e. in reality to keep them away) (al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, transl. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 210 ff.).*

* Cf. also the metrical *Sad-dar*, dating probably from the end of the 15th cent., xiii., xxii., xii., tr. Hyde, *Hist. relig. veterum*

The Fravashis are not only invoked during the *Hamaspāthmaēdaya*-period, but also commemorated on the 19th of every month; in the Persian calendar (see art. CALENDAR [Persian]) they have, further, their place as the protectors of the first month of the year (*Fravardīn*; cf. the Armenian loan-name of the twelfth month, *Ħrotic*; Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 1895, i. 184 f.). Corresponding to this official position of the Fravashis, the Persian imagination elevated them into higher and higher spheres; and we often meet with them as the genii of the stars (e.g. Yasht xiii. 5-7; *Mašnōg-i Khrat* xlix. 22 f.). Altogether they seem in later times to have taken up a place in the Persian cosmology similar to the *daimones* in Greece.

Besides their place in the ritual, the Fravashis play a prominent part in the private cult of the Persians, especially in the funeral ceremony called *āfrīngān* ('homage'). It was a common meal to which the survivors invited both rich and poor; the priests attended the feast and performed several symbolical ceremonies. On that occasion cakes of meat and flour were offered to the spirit of the recently deceased. The origin of this feast seems to be a meal to the nourishment of the deceased. The same oblation is repeated at the festival in memory of the deceased, or the *Srōsh Darūn*, where cakes are offered to the angel of Death, *Srōsh*.

In Armenia the Persian ideas on the Fravashis and their cult have continued into modern times. They are commemorated on the Saturdays before the five great festivals of the year, and, upon the whole, every Saturday. They are imagined to dwell in the neighbourhood of the tombs and in the houses of their kinsmen, and the survivors burn incense and light candles in honour of them. At the tombs the Armenians celebrate a special commemoration of the dead, on which occasion they burn quantities of incense. The Manes dwell three days on earth; then they fly away to heaven, leaving behind their blessings to their descendants. Especially between fathers and sons there is a vivid communication at that time. The Armenians as well as the Persians imagine that souls are connected with the stars.

LITERATURE.—J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-1893, II, 162 ff., 500 ff.; N. Söderblom, 'Les Fravashis', *RHR*, 1899; Manuk Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube*, Leipzig, 1899, 23 ff. ED. LEHMANN.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Japanese).—In order to understand what the worship of ancestors and of the dead actually amounts to in Japan, we must distinguish clearly the true national religion, that is to say, the native primitive Shinto, as it existed during the first centuries of the Christian era, from the Shinto subsequently modified under the influence of Chinese ideas. This transformed Shinto indeed is of very little interest here, as it is only a shadow cast over Japan from the continent. Our task is to distinguish and emphasize the ideas that are really Japanese, original, and prior to this foreign influence; and to accomplish it we must examine only the most ancient documents, such as the *Kojiki* (*Records of Ancient Matters*, A.D. 712), the *Nihongi* (*Chronicles of Japan*, A.D. 720), the *Norito* (rituals which were not published until the beginning of the 10th cent., but were undoubtedly composed at a much earlier date), etc., being careful to eliminate, even in these documents, any traces of Chinese ideas which they may contain.

Persarium, Oxford, 1700, pp. 444, 447 L, 456. There is likewise a record of the celebration of the feast in 538 (Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 78 ff.); while in 565 Chosroes spent ten days at Nisibis to celebrate the *Fravardāgān*: τὴν δεκάτην τὴν θουρδίαν προσεγορευομένην, ἡ ἑστὶν ἐλλήνωντι περὶα (Menander, ed. Niebuhr, Bonn, 1829, p. 374).

It is on account of the neglect of these necessary precautions that Japanese writers, especially the great native philologists of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th cent., have represented their national religion as being mainly an ancestor-cult, while in reality it is mainly a cult of nature. For instance, the famous theologian Hirata (1776-1843), while claiming to restore the primitive Shinto, calls into existence a fanciful religion, into which he introduces, in an artificial way, ancestor-worship as practised by the Chinese: the worshippers must pray to the whole succession of their family ancestors in order that these Manes may protect their descendants and see to their happiness (*Tamadasuki*, vol. x.). From Japan this erroneous conception spread into Europe, where the writers have, one after another, repeated the statement that Shinto was chiefly an ancestor-cult. Even the most conscientious scholars have not escaped the influence of this prevailing idea. Sir Ernest Satow maintained in Murray's *Handbook for Japan*² (Introd. pp. 62, 69) that 'in its very earliest beginnings Shinto appears to have been ancestor-worship.' This eminent Japanese scholar has now, however, given up that theory. But more recently, Prof. B. H. Chamberlain wrote (*Things Japanese*³, 1898, p. 358): 'Shinto is the name given to the mythology and vague ancestor- and nature-worship which preceded the introduction of Buddhism into Japan.' Dr. W. E. Griffis (*Religions of Japan*, 1895, p. 88) emphasizes the idea, saying that 'from the Emperor to the humblest believer, the God-way is founded on ancestor-worship, and has had grafted upon its ritual system nature-worship.' Capt. Brinkley sums up the whole in the very concise statement: 'Ancestor-worship was the basis of Shinto.'

This theory is, in the present writer's opinion, the reverse of the historical evolution as it actually took place. It is evident that at a certain period ancestor-worship was seen to be the dominant cult of Shinto, and when people in our time visit the temples which are dedicated for ever to illustrious ancestors or to certain nature-gods confounded with Imperial ancestors, they are tempted to see in them a confirmation of the general theory of Herbert Spencer. But if we get rid of these modern impressions, and also lay aside the conventional opinions of native commentators, and if we confine our attention simply to the ancient writings, we find that the oldest and most interesting parts of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, those relating to the 'age of the gods,' are essentially devoted to nature myths; that, moreover, the most important *Norito* celebrate the glory of the gods of nature, and that it is not animism but naturism that in Japan, as in so many other countries, constitutes the real basis of the primitive religion. Does this, however, mean that, as Dr. W. G. Aston maintains at the present time, 'Shinto, the old native religion of Japan, had no cult of true ancestors' (*Man*, 1906, No. 23, cf. his *Shinto*, 1905, p. 44 and *passim*; K. Florenz, *Nihongi, Zeitalter der Götter*, Tokio, 1901, p. 253, and art. SHINTO)? The present writer thinks rather that the truth lies between these two extremes, and that, if ancestor-worship did not appear until after nature-worship, and if it was then developed chiefly under the influence of Chinese ideas, it nevertheless existed in germ in the original Shinto as in the majority of primitive religions.

We shall not discuss the question as to whether cannibalism existed in pre-historic Japan, and if so, whether it was followed by a ceremonial anthropophagy, which is then explained by the desire to offer to certain ancestral gods the food they would most appreciate (see N. Gordon Munro, 'Primitive Culture in Japan,' in *Trans. of the Asiatic Soc. of*

Japan, Dec. 1906, vol. xxxiv. pt. 2, pp. 73 ff. and 133 ff.). As a matter of fact, from the time that primitive man invests all the gods, if not with his own form, at least with his feelings, this moral anthropomorphism must lead him to offer to the gods, whoever they may be, the things which appear most precious to himself, and the gods for whom these sacrifices are intended may be gods of nature quite as well as ancestral spirits. We shall therefore dismiss this questionable interpretation of customs which are themselves doubtful, and confine ourselves wholly to the written documents.

These documents show us, in the first place, that the primitive Japanese had a vague belief in the immortality of the soul, without having, however, any precise or absolute idea on the subject. The *Nihongi*, when relating the story of the hero Tamichi, who appeared one day as a serpent with glaring eyes to punish the violators of his tomb, ascribes to the men of that time the thought: 'Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge?' This passage alone is sufficient to prove that there were supporters of another opinion, who doubted the sentient immortality of the dead. In general, however, they believed that the dead survived this life. The common people descended through the opening of the grave to a dark lower region, *Yomi*, i.e. 'the Land of Darkness,' where there were neither rewards nor punishments, but where all, good and bad alike, continued to lead a vague existence, regretting the life and light of the upper region. This is the dark kingdom, which swarms with the fierce deities of disease and death, the 'hideous and polluted land' where Izanagi, horror-stricken, found his wife Izanami in a state of putrefaction. Other persons, such as Izanagi himself, do not share this general destiny: it is on a terrestrial island amidst the living that this god chooses his resting-place. Lastly, many divine heroes and illustrious persons were translated to the 'Plain of High Heaven' (*Takama no Hara*). Just as the first parents had sent the most beautiful of their children, the Sun and the Moon, to that upper region to illumine it with their brilliance, so men raised the objects of their admiration up to the stars. Like the deified Roman Emperors, they were 'sideribus recepti.' The dead whose brilliant career terminated in this final assumption were not, however, the most virtuous; they were the most illustrious, and their apotheosis was only the natural continuation of their former power. Thus, the particular abode of the dead depended chiefly upon their earthly dignity. Their future life, with which no moral consideration had to do, rested upon an idea that was purely aristocratic. The ladder of the ranks of men had a top which was lost in the clouds and leaned against the floor of the gods. In a word, the spirits of men found a place very readily in the society of the gods of nature. The heroic glory of the one corresponded to the physical brilliance of the other. They took up their abode in the same places, and in virtue of the same inherent sovereignty.

This being so, it follows that the cult of the dead was of a somewhat vague character, and that ancestors were worshipped mainly in proportion to the social position they had held during life. One old mythical account, in which there is a description of the burial of the god Ame-waka-hiko ('heaven-young-prince') by a flock of birds, which perform the various duties of the funeral ceremony, shows us clearly that the Japanese must have practised very complicated rites on such occasions. The existence of funeral sacrifices also shows that they rendered to their ancestors a worship intended to ensure their welfare, providing them with the

objects, animals, and companions which they would require in the other life. The most important writing on this subject is one which relates how human sacrifices were suppressed—an event which the *Chronicles of Japan* place at a time corresponding to that of the birth of Christ, but which probably should be brought down to a more recent date, of the actual occurrence of which, however, there can be no doubt. One passage explains, first of all, why they thought of this suppression:

‘28th year [of the reign of Suinin = 2 A.D.], 10th month, 5th day. Yamato-hiko no Mikoto, the Mikado's younger brother by the mother's side, died.

‘11th month, 2nd day. Yamato-hiko was buried at Tsukizaka in Musa. Thereupon his personal attendants were assembled, and were all buried alive upright in the precinct of the tomb. For several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them.

‘The Emperor, hearing the sound of their weeping and wailing, was grieved at heart, and commanded his high officers, saying: “It is a very painful thing to force those whom one has loved in life to follow him in death. Though it be an ancient custom, why follow it if it is bad? From this time forward, take counsel so as to put a stop to the following of the dead.”

Another passage then tells how the reform was accomplished:

‘32nd year [= 3 A.D.], 7th month, 6th day. The Empress Hibasu-hime no Mikoto died. Some time before the burial, the Emperor commanded his Ministers, saying: “We have already recognised that the following of the dead is not good. What should now be done in performing this burial?” Thereupon Nomi no Sukune came forward and said: “It is not good to bury living men upright at the tumulus of a prince. How can such a practice be handed down to posterity? I beg leave to propose an expedient which I will submit to your Majesty.” So he sent messengers to summon up from the Land of Idzumo a hundred men of the clay-workers' Be (hereditary corporation). He himself directed the men of the clay-workers' Be to take clay and form therewith shapes of men, horses, and various objects, which he presented to the Emperor, saying: “Henceforward let it be the law for future ages to substitute things of clay for living men, and to set them up at tumuli.” Then the Emperor was greatly rejoiced, and commanded Nomi no Sukune, saying: “Thy expedient hath greatly pleased Our heart.” So the things of clay were first set up at the tomb of Hibasu-hime no Mikoto. And a name was given to these clay objects. They were called *Aonico*, or clay rings.

‘Then a decree was issued, saying: “Henceforth these clay figures must be set up at tumuli: let not men be harmed.” The Emperor bountifully rewarded Nomi no Sukune for this service, and also bestowed on him a kneading-place, and appointed him to the official charge of the clay-workers' Be. His original title was therefore changed, and he was called Hashi no Omi. This is how it came to pass that the Hashi no Muraji superintend the burials of the Emperors' (*Nihongi*, tr. by Aston, 1896, vol. I. p. 178 f.).

With regard to the other funeral offerings, we are sufficiently enlightened by the pottery, weapons, and ornaments brought to light by excavations in the ancient Japanese tombs. Aston interprets these customs as being ‘partly a symbolical language addressed to the deceased, and partly . . . an appeal for sympathy by the mourners and a response by their friends.’ The present writer thinks rather that we should see in them the proof of a belief in the continued sentient existence of the dead, and in the necessity for satisfying the needs which they still experience in the other world, i.e., in a word, the existence of a real cult of the dead. Even to-day the majority of the Japanese scarcely think of a future life, and the conception of the immortality of the soul seems almost foreign to them; and yet towards their ancestors they perform no less rigorously the minute rites of the ancestor-worship borrowed by them from China. It is probable that the primitive Japanese also, who, as the ancient writings testify, were even at the hour of death not in the least concerned about a future life, felt none the less the desire to do all that they thought might still be useful for their dead relatives. It is true that the ancient documents do not make any direct reference to this point; but the fact must not be lost sight of that these are annals in which scarcely any but famous persons are described, and in which we could hardly expect to find information regarding the obscure life of the common people. They men-

tion the human sacrifices offered at the tomb of an Imperial prince more readily than the humble offering of rice and water which poor families might make. But, on the other hand, with regard to heroes and illustrious personages, we find very clear cases of deification and of worship rendered to the far-off ancestors, gods of nature or human beings, who were regarded as the household gods (*ujigami*) of the great families of the 8th century. (For further details on this last point see the present writer's book, *Le Shinntoisme*, Paris, 1907, p. 276 f.).

This cult of ancestors, which we can assert with certainty in some illustrious cases, and logically infer also among the poor people who were unknown to the court historiographers, was speedily developed and systematized under the influence of continental ideas. Then Chinese ancestor-worship came to be established with all the ceremonies which it involves and all the consequences it entails, beginning with the very important practice of adoption, which was intended to ensure the continuance of family sacrifices. But this evolution, which is quite distinct from real Japanese religious ideas, is beyond our subject. See CHINA.

MICHEL REVON.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Jewish).—As was to be expected, the final victory of monotheism made the conscious practice of forbidden or doubtful rites in connexion with the dead impossible to those who strictly followed the sober development of pure Mosaicism in early post-Biblical times and the various periods of Rabbinism that followed. Ancient occultism retained, however, a hold on the minds of not a few in each generation; and the confluence of Eastern and Western mystical ideas which in mediæval times produced the theosophical systems of the Kabbalah, gave a further impetus to various essentially un-Mosaic notions about the dead, and even succeeded in partially invading the liturgical form of synagogue-worship.

The literary evidence, which is on some important points supported by practices prevalent at the present day, has here to be collected from (1) the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings attached to the OT; (2) the Talmudic and Midrashic literature; (3) the Liturgy; (4) the Kabbalah. Only the salient features need, however, be mentioned in each part.

1. **Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature.**—Taking the different parts of the subject, in so far as sufficiently important data exist, in the order followed in the ‘Hebrew’ article above, it must first be mentioned that the garden or Paradise assigned to Enoch and the other elect is, according to the *Book of Enoch* (32^a 65^a 106^a), imagined to be at the end of the earth towards the east. In it is the tree of wisdom (32^a 6), whose fruit the holy ones eat and attain high knowledge. In 47^a ‘the holy ones who dwell in the heavens’ are, however, spoken of. The wall of righteousness mentioned in 48^a is perhaps a reminiscence of the ‘water of life’ which is to be found in the Babylonian heaven and other mythical localities. Whether the pseudepigraphical work known as the *Assumption of Moses* originally contained in the lost portions at the end an account of the translation of Moses to heaven still remains doubtful, though a negative answer would seem to accord best with the facts of the case (see the introduction to that book in Kautzsch's edition). Josephus, however, clearly implies a belief in it (*Ant.* IV. viii. 48), and 11^a in the *Ass. Mos.*

* The books contained in the *Variorum Apocrypha* (ed. C. J. Ball) are here quoted in the usual English form. For the other books, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des AT* (ed. Kautzsch, 1900) has been followed. The dates of the books range from about A.D. 200 (Sirach) to the earlier Christian period.

itself (ending, 'the whole world is thy grave') would seem to be in consonance with the idea. Concerning Baruch, the friend and disciple of Jeremiah, we are informed that he was to be preserved alive 'to the end of the times' (*Apoc. Bar.* 13³ 76³), — a favour which appears to stand in some relation to the translation of the earlier saints.

In the ridicule of Babylonian idol-worship contained in the *Epistle of Jeremiah* is found the statement that they set gifts before the idols 'as unto dead men' (v. 37); but the practice of offering gifts to the dead thus implied may be understood to have been as purely Babylonian as the idol-worship itself. A direct warning against the heathen worship of the dead is contained in *Jubilees* 22¹⁷ ('Their sacrifices they slay to the dead, and pray to the demons, and eat upon the graves'); and it is natural to suppose that the warning would not have been needed, if there had been no tendency to adopt these practices among the Jews. The supposed reference to offerings made to the dead in Sir 30¹³ has been disproved by the Cairo Hebrew text (if here correct); for instead of 'messes of meat set upon a grave,' the Hebrew has 'heave-offerings placed before an idol' (*gillûl*).^{*} The treatment of the dead spoken of in Sir 7²³ and To 4¹⁷ may possibly refer to offerings made to the departed, but it is not unlikely that funeral rites only are meant in the former passage and funeral feasts in the latter (see the notes to the *Variarum Apocrypha*). It would seem indeed that the progress of monotheism had by that time made habitual offerings to the dead impossible, and that the transformation of the practice into what has not inaptly been called 'the new sacrificial cult of the dead' ('Das neue Totenopfer' [Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 188]) had already set in. In 2 Mac. 12⁴²⁻⁴³, Judas Maccabæus is reported to have ordered the Jews under his command to offer up prayers and to send a large sum of money as a gift to Jerusalem, in order to effect an atonement for the Jewish soldiers killed in battle, under whose coats objects consecrated to idols—no doubt intended to serve as a magical protection—had been found. It has been suggested that the prayers and offerings of money were in reality intended by Judas and his companions to clear the survivors rather than the dead from the pollution of idolatry; but as the author or compiler of 2 Mac. interpreted the act as having been performed on behalf of the dead (see vv. 43^a, 44^a), the practice of trying to benefit the dead rather than paying homage to them must have been in vogue when the narrative assumed its present form (some time in the 1st cent. B.C.).

The references to mourning customs found here and there in the Old Test. Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphical writings in the main support the view that the objectionable practices mentioned in the 'Hebrew' article lay outside the range of topics contemplated by the authors. Even the picture of priests having 'their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven,' and roaring and crying before their gods 'as men do at the feast when one is dead' (*Ep. Jer.* vv. 31-32), is taken from Babylonian idol-worship, and does not necessarily point to exactly similar practices among the Jews. With regard to the number of days given up to mourning, it is remarkable that, whilst Jth 16²⁴ and Sir 22¹³ show that the practice of keeping seven days was usually continued, the *Dyn. of Adam and Eve* speaks of six days' mourning, the seventh being (like a Sabbath) reserved for rest and joy. Ben-Sira (apparently inconsistent with

himself) furthermore recommends (38¹⁷) a day or two, 'lest thou be evil spoken of.'^{*} If, therefore, Schwally's suggestion (*op. cit.* p. 41), that the seven days' mourning corresponds to the number of days assigned to great religious festivals, were adopted, it would at the same time follow that in the times to which the apocryphal books belong this idea had lost its hold upon the popular mind.

Necromancy in its ordinary form also lies outside the range of topics dealt with by the writers of this literature. But the appearance of the high priest Onias and the prophet Jeremiah to Judas Maccabæus in a dream on the eve of his battle against Nicanor (2 Mac 15¹²⁻¹³) represents a form of oneiromancy that is pretty closely related to necromancy (cf. the appearance of Alexander to his thrice married widow Glaphyra, recorded in Jos. *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 4; *BJ* II. vii. 4). Ben-Sira, representing, as he did, Hebraism pure and simple, declares, however, that 'divinations, and sooth-sayings, and dreams are vain' (Sir 34³). The call addressed to the 'spirits and souls of the righteous' (Song of the three Children 4⁶) to join in the universal hymn of praise to the Creator has a poetic ring about it, but the whole Song might be brought into relation with animistic conceptions.

2. Talmudic and Midrashic literature.—It may at first sight seem strange that the number of persons who gained the distinction of being translated to heaven without having died and gone down to Sheol, is considerably increased in some of the later additions belonging to Talmudic, Midrashic, and allied literature. This advance is, however, in reality quite in keeping with the greater facility for the glorification of distinguished human personalities under the final monotheistic development of Mosaism referred to at the end of the 'Hebrew' article. In the minor Talmudical tractate *Derekh Erez Zutta* (7th or 8th cent.), ch. i., seven (or, according to others, eight) others, besides Enoch and Elijah (including the Messiah; Eliezer, the servant of Abraham; Hiram, king of Tyre, etc.),[†] are accorded this honour. In *Yalkut Ezekiel*, § 367 (about 11th cent.), thirteen such translations are enumerated, the name of Methuselah being among those added to the preceding list. The *Alphabetum Siracidis* (ed. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1858) occupies a middle position between the two lists named, the number of translations being eleven (one of the number, however, being the posterity of the phoenix). Specially developed in Talmudic and Midrashic literature is what may fairly be called the cult of Elijah, who, according to Mal 4⁵, was to be the herald of a new order of things, and whose expected appearance as the forerunner of the Messiah is referred to in the NT (*e.g.* Mt 17^{12a}). Quite in keeping with this expectation is, for instance, the conversation of Elijah with R. Yôsê related in *Berâkhôth*, 3a, where the grief caused to the Deity by Israel's captivity is so forcibly and characteristically described. On the Midrashic statements regarding the high favour accorded to Moses at his death, see § 1 in the 'Hebrew' article.

A very important concession to popular habits of thought is made in the minor Talmudical tractate *Semâhôt* (prob. 7th or 8th cent.), ch. viii., where the custom of placing the dead person's pen (or reed) and ink as well as his key and writing-tablet by his side in the grave is countenanced, although the belief in the ability of the departed to use these things might be considered to be perpetuated thereby. The concession is indeed ex-

^{*} In the OT, however, the plural only of this word is used. The Greek *τρί* (or *δύ*) *τάφῳ* appears to rest on a misreading (*gôlôl* for *gillûl*); so also the Syriac.

^{*} The suggestion that mourning for distant relatives only is here meant does not seem to suit the context (see note in Kautsch's edition).

[†] For the full enumeration of this and the following lists see A. P. Bender, 'Death, Burial, and Mourning,' etc., in *JQR* vi. (1894) 241 f.

pressly granted, notwithstanding its known approximation to 'Amorite' customs. In the *Shulhān 'Arukh* of Joseph Caro (*ob.* Safed, 1575), which is the accepted guide of strictly orthodox Judaism at the present day, the same practice is tolerated (see *Hilkhoth 'Abheluth*, § 350). Merely academic is, of course, the permission to make burnings for kings, but not for persons of inferior rank (*ib.* § 348; *S'māhōth*, ch. viii.; cf. the 'Hebrew' article, § 3). One of the explanations suggested to account for the pouring away of all the water found in a house in which a death has taken place, is that an offering to the dead, or, at any rate, a provision of drink for them, was thereby intended (see A. P. Bender, *JQR* vii. [1895] p. 106 ff.). It is, however, more likely that the water was poured away because it was believed to have contracted contamination* (see § 7 in the 'Hebrew' article). A Karaite writer of the 10th cent. (Abu's-Sari b. Masliah) declares that a number of Rabbinite Jews of his day were in the habit of burning candles and offering incense on the graves of the righteous.† A transformation of this custom similar to that noticed in 2 Mac. (see § 1) is found, e.g., in *Midrash Tanhūmah* on *Ha'azinu* (the last weekly pericope but one in Deuteronomy), where the religious commemoration of the dead on the Sabbath is recommended in order to prevent their returning to Gehenna (cf. the remarks on *Kaddish* and *Hazkārath N'shāmōth* in the next §).

Not much that can be regarded as significant is here to be noted in connexion with mourning customs. The repast provided in modern times for mourners by their neighbours after a funeral is clearly understood to have the object of thus offering sympathy and consolation to the bereaved, who are, besides, naturally unable to make satisfactory provision for their own wants at such a time. The rending of the garments on the part of mourners is now generally but a slight ceremonial act, consisting in tearing the (left) lapel of the coat one is wearing. In Talmudical and subsequent times there was a custom of baring the shoulder and arm (see Bab. *Baba Qāma*, 17a, and cf. *S'māhōth* ix.). A. Büchler (*ZATW*, 1901, pp. 81-92) regards this act as a sign of subjection of the living to the dead (see § 5 (a) in the 'Hebrew' article). If so, there would here be a survival of the cult of the dead in the old sense of the word.‡

Jastrow (*ZATW*, 1902, pp. 117-120) tries to controvert Büchler's opinion by showing that practices of this kind are a return to ancient habits of life, entire nakedness having, in fact, originally obtained in connexion with mourning (see § 5 (a) in the 'Hebrew' article), because a state of nudity was the primitive condition of man. In reality, however, the two explanations do not clash with each other, for the sense of self-humiliation and subjection to the departed spirit would be quite compatible with a reversion to an older and less dignified mode of existence.

All trace of ancestor-worship (supposing that there ever was any in it) has disappeared from the rather precarious working of the levirate law in modern times. Nor is there now any trace of a ritual tabu in the Rabbinical ideas bearing on the uncleanness of dead bodies, fear of contamination through contact with a decaying human organism being the explanation adopted. A certain kind of necromancy, on the other hand, reappears in, e.g.,

* Mr. Israel Abrahams, on the authority of Nissim Gerondi (*ob.* shortly after 1374), favours the view that the pouring away of water was a method of making known the occurrence of a death (*Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 334); but if so, what need was there of pouring away all the water in the house? The likelihood is that the practice, though primarily pointing to quite a different principle, naturally got to serve in a secondary way to indicate death by a kind of association of ideas.

† See Perles, *MGWJ*, 1861, p. 389.

‡ The report found in *S'māhōth* ix., of R. 'Akiba striking his breast at the death of R. Eliezer until the blood gushed out, has apparently no ritual significance, the act having been merely an expression of great personal grief.

Bab. *B'rākhōth*, 18b (parallel passage in *'Abōth d'-Rabbi Nathan*, ch. iii.), where a certain pietist, having on some occasions taken up his lodging at the cemetery, is reported to have overheard the conversation of two spirits regarding the success or failure of crops sown at different times of the year.

3. The Liturgy.—The high veneration, almost amounting to a cult, paid to Moses and Elijah, also finds expression in some parts of the Jewish ritual. A cup of wine is at the present time in many places reserved for Elijah in the Passover-night Service,* which, though celebrated in commemoration of the release from Egypt, also emphasizes the hope of future redemption by the Messiah, whose forerunner was to be Elijah. The same prophet is also assumed to preside at the ceremony of circumcision, the chair in which the actual operator sits being designated the 'chair of Elijah'† in the German and other forms of the ritual. In the *Pirkē d'-Rabbi Eliezer* (latter half of the 8th cent.), end of ch. xxix., this idea is brought into connexion with Elijah's well-known zeal for Jahweh, the child being by the rite of circumcision initiated into Israel's covenant with Jahweh. Moses, his work and his death, are the subject of a number of hymns in the *Maḥzor* (extended Service Book) for the Feast of Weeks (in connexion with the giving of the Law on Sinai) and the Passover. The liturgical elaboration of the life and work of Moses is specially prominent in the ritual of the Karaites (sect founded about the middle of the 8th century).

The most important portions of the synagogue services to be noted here are, however, the *Kaddish* and *Hazkārath N'shāmōth*.

(a) The *Kaddish*, which is of the nature of a doxology and embodies the Messianic hope, but contains no mention of the dead, was primarily instituted for recitation after completing the study of a section of the Talmud and at the end of a Talmudic discourse or lecture. But as the merit of the study of the Torah (by which the Talmud as the authoritative exposition of the Torah was mainly understood) was considered exceedingly potent, the idea must have arisen early that the living might thereby benefit even the departed; and it probably thus came about that the doxology concluding such study was assigned to mourners. In *Masseketh Sopherim* (prob. 6th or 7th cent.), xix. 12, its use in this connexion appears firmly established, though its recitation is assigned to the cantor. Later on its recital was ordered to follow every burial (see Moses b. Naḥmān [*ob.* 1268 or 1269], *Tōrath ha-Adam*, ed. Venice, 1595, fol. 50a); and the mourners' *Kaddish* in the full modern sense of the word is mentioned in the French ritual known as *Maḥzor Viṣry* (A.D. 1208). The *Kaddish* thus gradually became, though never exclusively so, an indirect prayer for the departed. Its original connexion with the study of the Torah was in this use of it (as indeed in several other of its uses) lost sight of, and the idea of benefiting the dead by the special act of worship on the part of the surviving son or sons became very prominent.‡

The practice thus connects itself in idea with the new or inverted cult of the dead which was

* This custom, of which no trace has so far been found in medieval MSS and early printed liturgical books, is probably due to the influences of later Kabbalism, though—as stated in the text—it is capable of being reasonably based on an old tradition.

† It is possible that the 'chair of Moses' in the now demolished Jewish synagogue at Kai-feng-fu in China (see *JQR*, Oct. 1900, p. 29) was intended to serve the same purpose.

‡ Compare the development of the custom as stated in L. N. Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home*, pp. 109-110; see also the art. 'Kaddish' in *Hamburger's R's* ii. A statement on the different forms of the *Kaddish* will also be found in these works.

already in vogue in Maccabean times, or, at any rate, at the time to which the composition of 2 Mac. belongs (see § 1). Instead of seeking to obtain benefits through the agency of the dead, the living engage in actions calculated to improve the condition of the departed; and as the surviving son or sons are the most approved agents of this form of the cult, it is only natural for those who see in the law of levirate (see § 6 in the 'Hebrew' article) an original connexion with the ancient sacrificial cult of the dead, to bring this use of the *Kaddish* into relation with that law, and to refer the religious function obligatory on the descendants to the same motive in both sets of regulations. The objection that might be raised is that, if the *Kaddish* were really connected with the idea underlying the law of levirate and the ancient sacrificial ritual of the dead, one would have expected to find it in use in much earlier times than can be attested by the existing literary evidence, continuity in essence being one of the marks of gradual development. But it is, on the other hand, not against analogy to suppose that if—as is very likely to have been the case—the idea itself was never eradicated from the popular mind, it should, under certain favourable influences,* have been later on fully revived under the form of the *Kaddish Yāthōm* (orphan's *Kaddish*). Such a use of the doxology would be merely one more instance of the embodiment of old forms of thought in fresh and later shapes.

(b) The same may also be said of the most solemn office connected with the departed, i.e. the *Hashkārath Neshāmōth* ('remembrance of souls'), which forms part of the Ashkenāzi ritual for the eighth day of the Passover, the second day of Pentecost, the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the Day of Atonement. In this office direct petitions for the well-being of departed parents and other relatives are offered,† thus more explicitly attesting the revival (though in a much modified form), since mediæval times, of an earlier idea that the living are capable of rendering substantial service to the departed. In the Spanish ritual the same idea, in the form of direct petitions, is embodied in the *Hashkabah* ('laying to rest') which forms part of the Burial Service, and is also—under certain special regulations—recited during the synagogue services.‡

Mention should also here be made of the 'Jahrzeit,' or annual commemoration of departed parents, at which the *Kaddish* forms the most important feature, a candle being also kept burning for twenty-four hours.§ But the Jewish Liturgy also embodies petitions in which the merit of the departed is, *vice versa*, pleaded on behalf of the living, thus coming nearer to the old idea of seeking support from the spirits of the dead rather than offering help to them. In the famous prayer *Abinu Malkenu* ('Our Father, our King'), the merit of the martyrs is claimed as a ground for obtaining favour from the Almighty. The frequently occurring idea of *Z'kūth 'Abōth* ('merit of the fathers') may indeed not unreasonably be attached to the invocation, in the ancient 'prayer of eighteen' (1st to 2nd cent. A.D. at the latest), of the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and

the God of Jacob. In conclusion, the practice of asking pardon of the dead in a ceremony at the grave (see *Shulhān 'Arūkh*, i. § 606) may be mentioned. The mystical or spiritual union of the living with the dead and the possibility of interaction between the two states of being are clearly expressed in this interesting ritual.

4. The Kabbalah.—The cult of Elijah is very prominent in Kabbalistic literature. The founders (12th cent.) of the developed form of mysticism which is more particularly designated by the term 'Kabbalah' claimed to have received their instruction from the prophet in person. In the *Zohar* (a work compiled in the latter part of the 13th cent., but attributed to the Tanna Rabbi Simeon b. Yohai (2nd cent.), which is the great text-book of the Kabbalah, Elijah also often appears as instructor under the title *Sabba* (i.e. 'the ancient one'). Moses, under the title *Ra'ya Mēhēma* (i.e. 'faithful shepherd'), appears, in a section bearing the same title, in conference with Elijah and R. Simeon b. Yohai; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and other worthies being also present at the deliberations, which are honoured by the appearance of the Deity Himself. Metatrōn, who very frequently figures in the Kabbalah, but whose exact nature and origin have not yet been satisfactorily explained, is in many places identified with Enoch.* R. Simeon b. Yohai himself, designated *Būšna Kaddisha* ('sacred light'), is almost deified, and great veneration is also paid to leaders of later Kabbalistic schools, more particularly Isaac Luria (ob. 1572) and Baal-shem (ob. 1761).

Connected with the honours paid to departed worthies is the doctrine of metempsychosis, which, though in origin and essence entirely foreign to Mosaism,† and indeed to Semitic thought in general, succeeded about the 8th cent. in passing from Greek (and Indian) thought into the tenets of certain Jewish sectaries, through the medium of Muhammadan mysticism. Saadyah Gaon (ob. 942), who appears to be the first to make mention of it in orthodox Jewish literature, protests strongly against it.‡ But it nevertheless gained a firm footing in the Kabbalah, and attained an extraordinary development in the comparatively modern Kabbalistic system of Isaac Luria, the works on *gilgūlim* ('transmigrations') composed by himself and his followers, containing long lists of identifications of ancient personages with men and women of later date.§ An addition to the doctrine of metempsychosis made by the Kabbalists is the principle of *'ibbūr* ('impregnation'). If two souls (who may, of course, be spirits of the dead) do not separately feel equal to their several tasks, God unites them in one body, so that they may support and complete each other. This doctrine may have been suggested by the theory of incubation (see farther on), which is itself clearly connected with the belief in demoniacal possession, taking the term 'demon' in this instance to denote a spirit, without reference to its origin or moral qualities.

Pilgrimages to graves|| are much encouraged by the later Kabbalists. The tomb of Simeon b.

* It may thus well be that, as some have thought, the *Kaddish* is in a way the Jewish counterpart of certain practices in the Roman Church; but the idea underlying it would at the same time go back to ancient truly Semitic habits of thought. † For further details see, e.g., L. N. Dembitz, *op. cit.* pp. 219-220.

‡ See Dr. Gaster's edition of the Spanish Services, vol. i. p. 200 ff.; L. N. Dembitz, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. vi. p. 283 f.

§ The article 'Jahrzeit' in the *JE* (vol. vii.) will be found instructive, for both the modern and the ancient manner of observing it.

|| The Samaritans often use the formula כְּעַל מֹשֶׁה ('by the merit of Moses').

* See especially the passage in *Masseketh 'Avilith* (ed. Jellinek, *Ginze*, etc. p. 3), where Metatrōn is stated to have been originally human (flesh and blood). For various attempts to explain the name and office of Metatrōn see *Literaturblatt des Orients*, 1847, coll. 282-283; Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (1907), pp. 107-178.

† See A. Schmiedl, *Studien über jüdische Religionsphilosophie* (Vienna, 1869), pp. 159-166. The phrase *μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἄλλο σώμα*, u. ed. by Josephus in connexion with the belief of the Pharisees (*BJ* ii. viii. 14), must refer to the resurrection (comp. the parallel passage in *Ant.* xviii. i. 8).

‡ *Emunoth ve-De'oth*, ch. vi.

§ Compare the belief implied (though not countenanced in its literary sense) in *Mt* ii. 12, *Lk* 12.

|| On pilgrimages generally the art. 'Pilgrimage' in the *JE* (vol. x.) should be consulted.

Yohai at Meron near Safed is thus devoutly resorted to on the 33rd of 'Omar (i.e. the 33rd day from the 2nd day of Passover), when a great popular festival, at which illuminations are an important feature, is held in honour of the saint. Pilgrimages to the grave of Isaac Luria at Safed are made each new moon, and the persistence in many places of the popular custom of praying at stated times (as, e.g., on the 9th of Ab) at the graves of departed relatives is probably also partly due to the influence of Kabbalistic ideas.

The efforts of 16th cent. and later Kabbalists to obtain inspiration from the souls of the departed by clinging with outstretched bodies to their graves, and thus in a manner to become incubated with the spirits of the dead, remind one of the practice of necromancy at graves condemned in Is 65⁴ (see § 8 in the 'Hebrew' art.); but as the Kabbalists evidently arrived at this method by a new and largely borrowed line of thought, and as, furthermore, their object was not necromancy, but what they regarded as spiritual illumination, the custom cannot be regarded as a revival of the ancient practice. A species of oneiromancy is the same Kabbalists' belief that information of high import can be obtained through dream-visions of the departed.

Summary.—The general result obtained from a study of the Jewish part of the subject is, owing to the diverse forms of development undergone by the thoughts and practices of the people in different periods and widely scattered countries, far from homogeneous. The Talmudic and Midrashic literature thus exhibits a larger amount of reminiscence of, or reversion to, ancient thought than the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings, though these latter stood nearer in point of time to earlier Hebraism; and the Liturgy, influenced partly by the Kabbalah, and partly—as is not unlikely—by Christian practices, shows some interesting instances of the revival of old ideas in a much modified form. The Kabbalah itself, as has been shown, has added the doctrine of metempsychosis to the original Jewish and Hebrew stock of ideas, and it has in connexion with it furthermore introduced the theory of dual psychic personality in one body, thereby affecting the spirits of the departed in a manner previously unheard of in Judaism.

LITERATURE.—Besides the passages of the original sources (Apocrypha, etc.) referred to in the article, the following books, essays, or articles may be consulted with advantage. For Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature, oh. iii. in F. Schwally's *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892. From the Rabbinic point of view, J. Perles, 'Die Leichenfeierlichkeiten im nachbiblischen Judentum' in *MGWJ* x. (1861) pp. 345 ff., 376 ff.; A. P. Bender, 'Beliefs, Rites, and Customs of the Jews, connected with Death, Burial, and Mourning' in *JQR* vi. (1894-5) 317 ff., 664, vii. 101 ff., 259 ff. [also discusses modern points of view]; A. Büchler, 'Das Entblößen der Schulter und des Armes als Zeichen der Trauer' in *ZATW*, 1901, pp. 81-92. For points in the Liturgy, the articles 'Seelenfeier', 'Kaddish', etc., in *Hamburger's RB*; L. N. Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home* [the same author wrote the art. 'Kaddish', etc., in the *JE*]. For metempsychosis, etc., L. Ginsberg's instructive art. 'Cabala' in *JE* lii. [requires, however, to be supplemented from other sources]; also I. Brody's 'Transmigration of Souls' in *JE* xii. 231-234. Some other works dealing with the subject will be found in the literature given at the beginning of C. Grünisen's *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels*, 1900. G. MARGOLIOUTH.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Polynesian and Tasmanian).—In Polynesia, ancestor-worship was far less important than in Melanesia or Micronesia. Throughout this group, moreover, it was only the nobles who retained an existence after death, the souls of the common people perishing immediately after dissolution (Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1872, vi. 302; Dillon, *Narrative of a Voyage in the South Sea*, London, 1829, ii.

10-11). The ghosts of the dead might appear to the living and might work them either weal or woe, but they were in the main maleficent, and were accordingly, for the most part, objects of dread (Waitz-Gerland, pp. 315-316, 330, 332). Between the general worship of ghosts and the cult of ancestors a distinction should be drawn, evanescent though the line of demarcation often becomes. Ellis (*Polynesian Researches*, 2nd ed., London, 1832-1838, i. 334-336) expressly postulates the existence of *oramatuas*, or 'ancestors,' who ranked next to the *atus*, or gods, and were often the spirits of deceased fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, and other relatives, as well as of departed warriors who had been conspicuous for bravery. Although the *oramatuas* frequently helped in time of need, and opposed the malevolence of other ghosts or of hostile magic, they were, as a rule, cruel and irritable. It was thus necessary to place the corpse of the dead at a considerable height above the ground, this being apparently the origin of the *fata tupapau*, or altar for the dead (Moerenhout, *Voyages aux Îles du Grand Océan*, Paris, 1837, i. 470-471). Food was brought daily to the dead for six weeks or two months, and if the deceased had been a man of eminence, a special priest, termed *haivatupapau*, visited the body for several weeks and offered it food. It was believed that the *oramatua* could smell the spiritual part of this offering, and, in case it returned, it would therefore be gratified and content, so that it would not desire to resume earthly life (Ellis, i. 404-405; Moerenhout, i. 547; Wilson, *Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean*, London, 1799, p. 345). At the burial of a chief a hole was often dug in which the hostility of the deceased against his family for their supposed malevolence, which had resulted in his death, was buried, thus obviating the possibility of his maleficent return to his surviving kinsmen (Moerenhout, i. 552). Connected in a sense with the cult of ancestors was the mourning for the dead, together with the self-mutilations practised by the survivors (Waitz-Gerland, vi. 401-404); and here, too, belong the human sacrifices of wives, slaves, and favourites at graves in New Zealand, Hawaii (Waitz-Gerland, vi. 404-405), and the Fiji Islands (Russell, *Polynesia*, Edinburgh, 1843, p. 72). The motive for both these latter features was either the gratification of the *oramatua* at the sight of the grief which his death had caused, or a provision for his needs in the future life.

The religion of the Tasmanians was at a much lower stage of development than that of the Polynesians; yet it is clear that they, too, believed in a life beyond the grave, and thought that the souls of the dead might return to bless or curse them. They accordingly carried a bone of the deceased as a charm; yet the 'shades' (*warawali*) of dead relatives and friends were regarded, on the whole, as more kindly than the gods. Of an actual cult of ancestors, however, little seems to be known (Ling Roth, *Aborigines of Tasmania*, 2nd ed., Halifax, 1899, pp. 54-55). LOUIS H. GRAY.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Roman).—The great extent of ancestor-worship among the Romans, and its equally great limitations, make it not only one of the most interesting problems in the field of Roman religion, but also a subject the understanding of which brings with it a grasp of the fundamental principles which governed the formation and the development of the religion of the Romans. As it is in the main a private worship (*sacra privata*) rather than a public one (*sacra publica*; for the distinction, cf. Wissowa, p. 334; Marquardt, p. 120 ff.), our sources for the Kingdom and the Republic are limited, and it is only in the

Empire, with its vast number of sepulchral inscriptions (*CIL* vi., *CIG* xiv., over 40,000 for Rome alone) that we have any extensive contemporary sources. For the earlier period, however, we have a sufficient number of literary sources to enable us to form a definite idea of the cult, inasmuch as the stereotyped character of all religious ceremonial justifies us in combining testimonies from various historical periods; and, though the underlying ideas did undoubtedly change somewhat from generation to generation, there was a certain conservative force at work too. It will be most convenient, therefore, to treat of the underlying ideas and the expressions of them in cult acts, first during the general period of the Republic, and then, secondly, to sketch the development of these ideas from the close of the Republic onwards during the course of the Empire.

I. FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. The first and most fundamental question which requires an answer is this, Are any of the Roman gods to be traced back to ancestor-worship as their origin? From Euhemerus (cf. Rohde, *Gr. Roman*, 220 ff.) down to Herbert Spencer (*Principles of Sociology*) it has been a favourite contention that many great deities were in origin nothing but deified ancestors. An examination of Roman religion in its earliest state shows that this was not the case in Rome. The religion of the earliest period reveals distinct traces of animism (cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. 377 ff., ii. 1-377)—that belief common to all primitive peoples, which posits for all things, animate and inanimate, living and dead, a 'double,' or psychic parallel, which has an effect on the thing itself and must therefore be propitiated. These doubles are potentialities rather than individualities. They are interesting not so much for what they are as for what they do. Now, Roman religion is peculiarly interesting in this respect, because in it we see a development of animism one step further. Certain of these powers have advanced sufficiently towards individuality to acquire a name, but they are none of them as yet individuals thought of in the fashion of man (on the importance of names cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*², i. 403 ff.); hence there was not, could not be, a native Roman mythology. They were advancing towards it when Greek influence placed her myths at Rome's disposal, so that she never developed any of her own. On the other hand, a great number of the gods of the earliest period were still mere potentialities, thought of in groups rather than as individuals, e.g. the *Di Penates*, powers who guarded the store-room, the *Di Agrestes*, powers who looked after the crops. It was into one of these groups that the dead went, into the *Di Manes*, the 'good gods' (*manus* = 'good'; cf. Roscher, ii. 2316). It will be readily seen, therefore, that, far from its being the case that the dead were ever made great individual gods, they received such divinity as they had by the same processes of thought which made all gods, great and small.

If further proof is needed, it may be found in the total absence of hero-worship in Roman religion, as it was before Greek influence came; and in the significant fact that, when under Greek influence two great characters of Græco-Roman mythology, Æneas and Romulus, were elevated to the rank of gods, theologians found nothing better to do than to identify them with two already existing old Roman deities, Numicius and Quirinus respectively (for Æneas = Numicius, cf. Rosbach in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1015; Aust in Roscher, iii. 475. For Romulus = Quirinus, cf. Wissowa, p. 141). Every attempt to make even the *Di*

Manes the source of other deities has been a failure. It has been tried repeatedly, but in vain, in the case of the *Lar Familiaris* or protecting spirit of the house (cf. Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*, p. 20; Nissen, *Templum*, p. 148; Rohde, *Psyche*³, i. p. 254).

2. Having rid our discussion of any connexion between the deified dead and other individual deities of Rome, we must now try to make clear to ourselves what the concept of the *Di Manes* was, and how the Romans felt towards them. It has often been asserted that the Romans had from the beginning a persistent and continuous belief in the immortality of the soul. This statement is absolutely misleading. We have seen that the habit of thought of the early Romans posited a double for everything; the dead must therefore have a double as well as the living. This double, even though it was the double of the dead, was thought of as possessing a certain sort of life—it could at certain times return to earth and exercise an influence for ill upon the living. This potentiality, however, was simply one of a vast number of similar potentialities; there was nothing individual about it, except its relation to its own family represented by the living members. Subsequent centuries, saturated with Greek philosophy and filled with an idea of individuality which was totally lacking in the earlier days of Rome, identified this poor shadowy potentiality with the human soul, and read into the whole matter a belief in immortality.

In the presence of the mystery of death, a mystery which even the light of Christianity has not wished fully to remove, men's minds do not work logically, and there is no part of religious beliefs where contradictions are more abundant than in the beliefs concerning the dead. Roman religion, in spite of its generally logical character, is no exception to the rule. It will never be possible for us, even with all the sepulchral inscriptions in the world, to establish one formula which will cover all cases—for the simple reason that no such formula ever existed. We are, however, able to make a general statement which will represent fairly well the normal concept, apart from the very numerous and very contradictory deviations.

When a man died, he went over into the *Di Manes*,—the good gods,—entering their ranks and losing all individuality and all specific earthly relations, except that when the *Manes* returned to earth, they visited the living members of the family to which they had belonged on earth; and thus the family idea, so fundamental in the social structure of Rome, triumphed over the grave, and possessed an immortality which the individual failed to obtain. The inclusiveness of the term *Di Manes* is seen in the fact that the gods who ruled over the dead, as well as their subjects, the dead themselves as gods, were all included in the phrase, though it is equally significant of the mass-idea that the actual gods of the dead, though demonstrably present, never rose to great individual prominence until the Greek Pluto-Persephone came into Rome as *Dis-Proserpina*.

3. Upon this theory of the *Manes* the cult followed inevitably. If the dead were able to influence the affairs of the living, they must be propitiated, and inasmuch as their interference was primarily with the affairs of the family to which they had originally belonged, and still did belong, it was incumbent upon the living members of that family to see that they were propitiated. Thus the cult of the dead was in its origin an ancestor-worship, and may well have been originally a family matter exclusively. Further, it was incumbent upon each living member of the family not only to perform these sacrifices, but also to

provide those who would succeed to the sacrifices after his death, in other words, to propagate the family. As for the State itself, it was also a family; and thus in that macrocosm of family life which the early State religion shows,—with its Vesta and its Penates,—there might come also sacrifices for the dead, not only for the dead already provided for by their own families, but also for that ever-increasing number of 'ancestors' whose descendants, in spite of all precautions, had ceased, that homeless throng of spirits whose immediate claims on the world of the living had been removed, and who therefore all the more readily would turn their ill-will against the State at large, unless she gave them satisfaction. Thus it was that both the *sacra privata* and the *sacra publica* were in part a worship of the dead.

There are sufficient suggestions and recollections in the body of Roman law to warrant the assumption of this theory, which, as one readily recognizes, is a close parallel to the Hindu law; but there is also this distinction, that, whereas Hindu law is based directly upon a sacral foundation, Roman law, when we first meet it, is already in the dual stage of *jus divinum* and *jus humanum*, with their intricate interlocking, so that we have merely the shadow picture of what once was. But even the shadow picture is tolerably complete, and the *jus Manium* formed one of the regular topics of Roman law, especially in relation to heirs and inheritances. The cardinal principle was the continuity of family worship (*perpetua sacra sunt*). Thus Cicero (*de Legibus*, ii. 22) quotes an old law: 'Let private sacrifices continue forever; keep sacred the laws concerning the divine dead.' The heir was under obligations to continue the sacrifices, and this was a prior lien on any money which the inheritance might bring him. Similarly, cases of adoption were often motivated by the desire of the adopter to obtain an heir to care for the sacrifices; and, though the process was a civil one, it was necessary, inasmuch as it involved the giving up of one set of sacrifices and the taking of another on the part of the adopted person, to discuss it in the oldest and most primitive of all the assemblies—the *Comitia Curiata*—and to obtain the consent of the Pontifex Maximus to the giving up of the one set of *sacra* (the so-called *delestatio sacrorum*, cf. Hunter, p. 766), a consent which was never given if the transfer left the one set of *sacra* destitute of an earthly representative (for a similar precaution in Hindu law, cf. Hunter, p. 206, note 2). We may also compare the old law ascribed to Romulus (*Plut. Rom.* 22), whereby whoever sells his wife is given over to the *Manes*, probably because this was a blow to the stability of the family, and hence to the continuity of sacrifices to the dead. The actuating motive underlying all the *jura Manium*, all the enactments concerning the dead, was neither a chivalrous pity nor primarily a regard for the comfort of the dead, but first and foremost a self-protective action on the part of the living. So fearful were men lest they might in some way have offended the gods of the other world, and lest the powers under the earth might hinder the gathering of the crops which had come out of the earth, that every year before the beginning of harvest a sow (*porca praesentanea*) was sacrificed to Tellus (and probably also to Ceres) 'by him who had not given the dead his due' (*Paul.* p. 223); later, by all men to Ceres and Tellus together, for fear they might have offended, so that eventually it began to be thought of merely as a sacrifice to Ceres for a good harvest (*Wissowa*, p. 160).

4. In its earlier stages the cult of the dead belonged to the religion of fear rather than the religion of love. The spirits of the dead were capable of doing injury; they must first be brought to rest in the lower world. There they were incapable of doing harm, and they could rise from there only on certain occasions, and on those occasions religion provided for their pacification. All the cult acts pertaining to the dead may be grouped, therefore, under these two ideas, the bringing of the spirits to rest, which must be done immediately after death, and the placating of the spirits on the regular annual occasions when they returned to earth again. Around this crude religion of fear the religion of love wound itself, breathing a new and better spirit into these old forms, and possibly instituting one or two festivals of its own. But we must deal first with the self-protective apotropaic side.

The ceremonies connected with death and burial do not as a whole concern us here, but merely those festivals which were strictly religious in character. These features seem, all of them, to go back to two ideas which are so intertwined that for us they are practically inseparable—possibly

they always were. One is the offerings given to the dead as a newly formed member of the *Manes*, including a proper burial, as giving him a home, and the offerings of food, etc.; and the other is the ceremonies of purification which were necessary for the living, after their close contact with this lower world at the edge of the open grave (cf. the idea of the *Manes* coming for the dead, which occurs occasionally in inscriptions, e.g. *CIL* ii. 2255 [Corduba]: 'the Manes have taken Abullia'). There is a considerable degree of uncertainty attaching to the exact order and names for the various ceremonies connected with and following the funeral; writers of the Empire, who are practically our only authorities, seem to be confusing Greek and Roman ideas, and older with newer Roman customs, and possibly the details will never be fully straightened out. But in general the matter was as follows. The supreme duty towards the dead was burial. Doubtless an ethical motive of piety, a desire to give the dead a home for his own sake, often re-inforced this duty; but the fundamental motive was one of self-protection, on the principle that the ghost of the dead would continue to haunt the living until a place was provided for it (*Tertullian, de Anim.* 56: 'It was believed that the unburied did not descend to the world below before they had received their due,' i.e. burial). Curiously enough, in certain cases it seems to have been felt that the dead had forfeited the right of burial, e.g. in the case of suicides, of those lawfully put to death, and of those struck by lightning. Here it was an equally great duty to abstain from burial, and there seems to have been no fear of evil consequences from their shades. But in all other cases burial was an ethical imperative (*Quintilian, Decl.* v. 6: 'Because even upon unknown dead we heap earth, and no one ever is in too great a hurry to honour an unburied body by putting earth, be it ever so little, on it'). The question of burial *versus* cremation in the various epochs of Roman history does not concern us here, for in either case the grave was sacred; but burial seems always to have held at least a symbolic supremacy—owing to the *os resectum*, or the custom of burying at least a portion of the body, e.g. a finger, when the rest was cremated. The burial was the most important self-protective act; in comparison with it the other acts were of relatively minor importance; and most of these acts seem to have had more to do with the purification of the surviving members of the family than with the dead himself. One sacrifice of purification took place before the body was carried out for burial: the sacrifice to Ceres of a sow (*porca praesentanea*, not to be confused with the *porca praesentanea* above), 'for the sake of purifying the family' (*Festus*, p. 250; cf. *Mar. Victor.* p. 25). In all probability Tellus, Mother Earth, and not Ceres, was the original recipient of the sacrifice, which was transferred to Ceres under the influence of the Greek Demeter cult (cf. *Wissowa*, p. 161); and hence the sacrifice was probably originally a purification of the living by means of an additional propitiation for the dead. On the day of the funeral and at the grave itself a sacrificial banquet seems to have been offered to the dead (*silicernium*, cf. *Marquardt, Privatleben*, p. 378). It consisted probably of very much the same things as were offered at the regular annual celebration of the *Parentalia* (see below). The nine days immediately following the funeral were days of mourning and purification, the *sacrum novemdiale*, the same term that was decreed by the State for its extraordinary periods of devotion occasioned by some great calamity (on the number nine as a sacred number cf. *Diels, Sibyll. Blätter*, p. 41). On some of these days the *Feriae Denicales* occurred, a celebration about which we know little, except that

the attendance of the members of the family was considered so necessary that the military authorities recognized it as a valid excuse for the absence of a recruit from the enlistment inspection, 'provided it had not been set on that day for the purpose of serving as an excuse' (Gell. xvi. 4. 3 ff.). The period of mourning ceased on the ninth day with a final banquet, with offerings to the dead, the *cena novemdialis*; and if funeral games were celebrated at all, as they often were, they occurred on this day (*ludi novemdiales*). The spirit of the dead was now safely housed in the lower world, whence he could not return, except on stated occasions; and the Roman could go about his daily business, mindful only of these stated occasions when they arrived.

5. As regards the lower world itself, the Romans seem originally to have interested themselves very little in it. Every bit of description is given us by writers under Greek influence, and the details are identical with those of the lower world of the Greeks. Now, it is not likely that a strong Roman tradition could thus have been totally destroyed; we should certainly find traces of it somewhere. Hence it is probable that the Roman lower world was not furnished with the fittings of imagination until Greek mythology provided the models. There is nothing strange about this, when we realize that the half-animistic character of the Roman pantheon precluded the growth of mythology for both the greater and the lesser gods. From the time of the Punic wars onwards the Romans pictured to themselves the lower world in just the same form as the Greeks had done (cf. Rohde, *Psyche*², vol. i.); and before that time, if they thought of it at all, and inevitably they must have done so to some slight extent, it was merely as a place of shadows and darkness. Their practical concern was the question of the eventual return of the spirits to trouble them; and hence their attention was concentrated not on the lower world in pleasant poetic fancies, but on the door between it and the upper world, the passage through which these divine dead came up. This entrance was the *mundus*, about which the Romans possessed original beliefs strong enough to remain even under the pressure of Greek thought. The *mundus* was the opening of the lower world; it was in the form of a trench into which sacrifices to the gods of the lower world, and to the dead as gods, could be thrown. In the centre of every town, at its foundation, such a trench was dug and sacrifices performed. The oldest *mundus* of Rome was that of the Palatine city (for its location cf. Richter, *Die älteste Wohnstätte des röm. Volkes*, Berlin, 1891, p. 7 ff.; Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* v. 76 ff., xi. 202 ff.). It was opened three days in the year: August 24, October 5, and November 8; probably the stone, and possibly some earth was removed (cf. Festus, p. 142; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 16, 17 ff.). 'When,' as Varro says (cf. Macr. i. 1), 'the *mundus* is open, the door of the sad gods of the lower world is open, therefore it is not proper on those days for a battle to be fought, troops to be levied, the army to march forth, a ship to set sail, or a man to marry.' There were other sacred trenches of the same sort in Rome: one in the Forum, the Lacus Curtius, connected with the story of M. Curtius (recently discovered; cf. Hülsen, *Röm. Forum*, p. 139; and, in general, Gilbert, *Top.* i. 334 ff.), another the so-called 'grave of Tarpeia,' which was evidently opened on Feb. 13, when one of the Vestals made sacrifice there (cf. Mommsen, *CIL* i.² p. 309; Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* i. 486; and, in general, on Tarpeia as a forgotten goddess of the lower world, Wissowa, *Rel. der Röm.* 187, 188), and still another at the 'grave of Larenta' in the Velabrum, to which on Dec. 23 the Pontifices and

the Flamen Quirinalis brought offerings (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* vi. 23 ff.; *Fast. Præn.* to Dec. 23; cf. Wissowa, p. 188 and note 1).

6. Apart from these special occasions for each particular *mundus*, there were two general occasions in the year when all the spirits of the dead were supposed to return to earth again, the nine days from Feb. 13-21, and the three days, May 9, 11, 13. The first was called the *Parentalia*, the second the *Lemuria*. These two occasions were so entirely different, and the *Parentalia* is on such an infinitely higher plane ethically than the *Lemuria*, that it is difficult to think of them as having the same origin; yet, when we compare All-souls' Day with Hallowe'en, we see the same divergence. The *Parentalia* kept pace with Rome's increase in culture, whereas all that was crudest in old folklore clung to the *Lemuria*.

Since the *Lemuria* represents a more primitive stage, it had better be discussed first. The most picturesque account is that given by Ovid (*Fasti*, v. 419 ff.), but we must be on our guard in using it, remembering that Greek ideas and a poetical imagination are present in everything that Ovid writes. The ceremony takes place at midnight. The father of the household, barefooted, passes through the house, throws black beans behind his back, and says nine times, 'These I give, and with these I redeem myself and my family.' Then he shakes cymbals and says again nine times, '*Manes exite paterni*,' 'Go forth, ye divine shades of my fathers.' The comparison of this ceremony with the 'driving out of the ghosts,' so common among primitive peoples of to-day, suggests itself immediately (cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*², iii. 83 ff. Here, as everywhere else in this interesting and valuable book, the reader must exercise great care in examining the sources given, as they differ widely in scientific value; cf. also Rohde, *Psyche*², i. p. 239).

The *Parentalia* presents quite a different picture. As its name implies, it is the festival of the *parentes*, or the making of offerings to one's ancestors. It began at noon of Feb. 13 and continued for nine days. The first eight days belonged only to the sphere of private worship, but the ninth day (Feb. 21) was also a public celebration, the *Feralia* (Varro, *op. cit.* 15; Paul. p. 85; cf. Marquardt, iii. 310 ff.). During all these nine days marriages were forbidden, the temples were shut, and the magistrates laid aside their official dress. Every family decorated the graves of its ancestors and made offerings there. Most appropriately, on the day after the close of the celebration, Feb. 22, a family festival, the *Caristia*, or *Cara Cognatio*, was held, when family quarrels were adjusted, and the peace which the individual member of the family had just made with the dead was now extended to the living members among themselves (cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 617; Val. Max. ii. 1, 8; *Calend. Philocal.*; cf. *CIL* i.² p. 258).

The attempt has been made to distinguish between the *Lemuria* and the *Parentalia* by considering the former as the festival of the unburied, and therefore hostile, dead, and the latter as the festival of the buried, and therefore friendly, dead (cf. Wards Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 106). The idea of fear is certainly more prominent in the former than in the latter; but the *Lemures* are just the same ancestors as the *Di Parentes*, and the very fact that their interference, either for good or for ill, is confined to stated seasons, proves that they were buried, i.e. admitted into the lower world and resident there ordinarily.

Of the other yearly festivals of the dead we know but little: we hear of a festival of the *Carmentia* on the first of June, the 'Bean Calends' (*Calendae Fabariae*, Varro in Non. p. 341; Macr. *Sat.* i. 12, 31; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 101 ff.), so called from the offering of beans to the dead; but roses were also offered (*CIL* iii. 3893).

7. In one respect the spirit-worship of the Romans was in distinct contrast to that of the Greeks and of most other ancient peoples. The dead had the

power of returning to earth again on stated occasions, but they could not be called up and consulted. 'Necromancy' was an altogether imported idea, and wherever we meet with references to it, foreign influence is present. The absence of this custom is no accident. The idea of prophecy was hardly present in any form in native Roman religion; their science of augury and of the *haruspices* was simply a means of ascertaining the approval or non-approval of the gods in regard to a certain action, merely of obtaining an answer to a categorical question. But if the dead might not be called up arbitrarily to give information, it was possible for certain individuals to be given over to them for punishment, as in the *consecratio*, or for certain individuals voluntarily to give themselves over to them, as in the *devotio*. *Consecratio* is the transfer of a person or thing out of the realm of the *jus humanum* into that of the *jus divinum*. Where a person is involved, it is, of course, a punishment. Persons or things might thus be given over to any deity or group of deities, and the *Di Manes* formed no exception; e.g. a man who sold his wife was *dis manibus sacer* (Plut. *Rom.* 22); also a child who struck his parent (Fest. p. 230); and the violator of a grave (*CIL* x. 4255). The characteristics of the *devotio*, on the other hand, are these. It is in the nature of a vow, made to the *Di Manes*, or Tellus and the *Di Manes*, whereby a man's life is given to the *Di Manes* in advance in order that other men's lives may be destroyed. We have semi-legendary accounts of three generals who offered their own lives that the enemy of the State might be destroyed: the first the case of Decius, the father, in the battle of Vesuvius, B.C. 340 (cf. esp. Livy, viii. 6. 8-16; 9. 1-11, and, in general, Münzer in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2280); the second that of Decius, the son, in the battle of Sentinum, B.C. 295; and the third that of Decius, the grandson, in the battle of Asculum, B.C. 279 (cf. Münzer, *ib.* iv. 2285; on the *devotio* proper cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *ib.*, s.v.). The *devotio*, as a curse directed against private individuals, does not belong to this period, as it arose entirely under Greek influence, and does not seem to have been prevalent until the Empire.

II. FROM THE CLOSE OF THE REPUBLIC UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

1. In the earliest periods of Roman religion the *Di Manes* were quite as truly gods as any of the other gods of Rome, and quite as unlike the later god-concept as any other of the gods. They were all alike thought of animistically as mere potentialities; but the other gods were destined to develop and to obtain an individuality, whereas the *Di Manes* remained an unindividualized mass of spirits, into which the dead man went at death, losing, so far as the cult was concerned, all his individuality except merely his family relationship. To be sure, under Greek influence certain gods of the dead were adopted by the Romans, namely Dis and Proserpina, formed on the analogy of the gods of the upper world; but this had the effect of only emphasizing the more the undeveloped dense mass of the *Di Manes*. On the other hand, during these centuries of the Republic, another idea had been slowly developing—the idea of the *Genius* (or if a woman, the *Juno*), or divine double of the individual, accompanying him during all his lifetime. In the question as to what became of the *Genius* at the death of the individual, and in the answering of that question by ascribing to him a life after death, the idea of personal immortality had its rise in Rome. The statements of later writers are obscured, partly by purely philosophical ideas foreign to the real beliefs of the many, and partly by a desire to identify and generally

systematize all forms of Roman belief; but we can dimly recognize the following development. Originally the *Genius* and the *Di Manes* had no connexion whatsoever, except the mere matter of sequence; so long as a man lived he had a *Genius*, an individuality, at first thought of as merely physical, later as psychological; but when he died, his individuality ceased, he was gathered to the majority (not the divine doubles of the individuals in it), the *Di Manes*. Now, in the course of time one of the effects of Greece on Rome was the development of individuality and of the idea of individuality. All these ideas centred in the *Genius*, and hence it was natural to think of the *Genius* as existing after death. It must, however, in that case stand in some relation to the *Manes*, it must be identical with at least a part of them, that part contributed by the individual at his death. It is not surprising then, that, beginning with the Augustan age (cf. Hübner, in Müller's *Handbuch*, i. p. 529, § 47), the idea of the individual makes itself felt in connexion with the *Manes*, and we have the form (which soon becomes the ordinary form), 'To the *Manes* of, or belonging to, such a man,' emphasized occasionally by the addition of the *Genius* (cf. *CIL* v. 246, etc.). Sometimes the *Manes* are left out entirely, and we have merely the *Genius* or the *Juno* of such a person (for the *Genius*, cf. *CIL* v. 246, ix. 5794; for the *Juno*, v. 160, x. 1009, 1023, 6597). This reinforcement by the *Genius* was the salvation of the *Manes*; it gave new life to the concept, and the *Di Manes* began to develop out of a mere mass of spirits into a host of individual protecting deities. The cult went on in its old forms, but a new spirit, a new idea, had been brought into it. It is along this line that the *Di Manes* had their effect on the two great religious developments of the Empire—the emperor-worship of the first two centuries, and Christianity in its later centuries.

2. The worship of the dead and emperor-worship.

—The elevation of the Roman emperors into gods was caused by two entirely distinct sets of tendencies; the one coming from the Orient, a tendency which, in so far as it was not checked (as it always was by all the better emperors), made the emperors into gods during their lifetime as well as after death; the other a thoroughly Roman concept, the idea that during life not the man but only his *Genius* was divine, but that after death, when the *Genius* still lived as the individualized *Manes*, the offerings might be made to the individual as a god. The difference, therefore, between an emperor, who allowed himself to be worshipped merely within the limits authorized by Roman ideas, and an ordinary Roman citizen was this: during lifetime the *Genius* of each was an object of worship, but the emperor's *Genius* was always, in all cases, one of the regular gods of the State cult, whereas the *Genius* of the individual belonged purely to the private cult, usually confined to a man's household. After death, both the emperor and the private citizen were worshipped as gods, with a similar distinction, namely, that in the case of certain emperors the Senate, after examining their acts, decreed that they should be included among the regular gods of the State. The only real distinction, therefore, was the inclusion of the emperor's *Genius* among the gods of the State in every case, during life, and the inclusion of the emperor himself, i.e. his *Manes*, among the State gods in certain cases after death. There can be little doubt that emperor-worship had the effect of strengthening the worship of the dead in general.

3. The worship of the dead and Christianity.—

Among the many difficult problems which the teachers of the Christian religion had to solve in

the Roman world, perhaps none was more difficult than that presented by the developed concept of the worship of the dead as protecting and helping deities. Polytheism, so far as the greater gods were concerned, had among the educated classes gone over into monotheism without the aid of Christianity, merely by the doctrine of a philosophical syncretism; but it was with inborn, almost instinctive beliefs, bred in the bone, such as the divinity of the dead, that the Church's real battle had to be fought. Her method was one of compromise; it was the authorization, nay the encouragement, of the worship of certain individuals, men and women who as martyrs had by one act set the seal upon their faith, or whose life had been holy to such a degree as to merit certain miraculous manifestations. The worship of these martyrs and saints was intended primarily to keep them as ensamples in the minds of the living. But this was not enough for a people who had worshipped the dead not so much because they had been good during their lives, as because these gods of the dead were useful to them, protecting and helping them in their hours of danger and need. The saints, too, must accomplish something for them. This also was granted by the Church, but merely in the sense that the saints acted as intermediaries, whose intercession with God would increase the probability of obtaining one's petition. Theology stopped there, but humanity went further. By that facile transfer of the means into the end, of the intermediary into the final, which is so characteristic of simple minds, aided too as they were in this case by a habit of thought which had made the dead into gods like other gods, these saintly intercessors soon became gods on their own account, and the legend of each became a cult-legend, indicating the circumstances in which each was especially powerful. Thus there arose, literally from the dead, a host of minor gods, a myriad of potentialities, like the old gods of the so-called *Indigitamenta*. Human frailty had, at least in the lower classes, triumphed over theology, and the real religious world of the Roman's latest descendants bore a startling resemblance to that of his peasant ancestors in the days of Romulus. See also art. ROMAN RELIGION.

LITERATURE.—Aust, *Religion der Römer*, 1899, pp. 179 ff., 225-232; De Marchi, *Il Culto Privato*, 1896, I. 180-208; W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 1899, *passim*; Hunter, *Roman Law*, 745 f.; Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, 310; Preller, *Röm. Mythologie*, 1858, II. 61-119; Rohde, *Psyche*, I. 216-258; Stenning, art. 'Manes' in Roscher; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1891, *passim*; Wissowa, *Religion der Römer*, 1902, 187-198, and his art. 'Lemuria' and 'Larve' in Roscher.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Slavonic).—We have only very few references to the cult of the dead among the pagan Slavs. The German chronicler Thietmar, who had not much sympathy with the Slavs, says (in the first Book of his *Chronicles*, § 14), 'They believe that everything ends with death' ('*Omnia cum morte temporali putant finire*'). The Russian chronicler known by the name of Nestor, in the chapter in which he relates the conversion of the Russian prince Vladimir, puts into his mouth the words, 'The Greek priests say that there is another world,' which would seem to imply that the pagan Russians did not believe in that other world. On the other hand, the Bohemian chronicler, Cosmas of Prague, declares that the Christian prince Bretislav II., by an edict in 1092, suppressed 'sepulturas quæ fiebant in silvis et campis, atque scenas (or cenas) quas ex gentili ritu faciebant in bivis et in trivis quasi ob animarum pausationem, item et locos profanos quos super mortuos inanes cientes manes . . . exercebant.' This most probably refers to rites and festivals in honour of the

dead. The phrase 'ob animarum pausationem' seems to have been influenced by the Christian idea of purgatory.

The idea of death is expressed in the Slav languages by the root *mer*, *mor*, which is common throughout the Indo-Germanic languages. The place to which people go after death is called by the name of *nav*, which is connected with a root meaning 'die' (Lettic *nāve*, 'dead'; Gothic *nauis*, 'corpse'; Greek *nekus*, etc.). The Polish chronicler Dlugosz, speaking of the pagan Slavs, says that they called Pluto 'Nya,' and that they asked of him 'post mortem in meliores inferni sedes deduci.' Dlugosz, as well as Cosmas of Prague, admits that the Slavs believed in the immortality of the soul.

The ancient Russians held banquets, called *tryzna* or 'festivals,' in honour of the dead. The ancient Slavs had no places used expressly as burying-grounds. They practised both burial and cremation.

We have no definite texts on ancestor-worship, but folk-lore gives valuable hints regarding it. The Russian peasants believe in the existence of a *dědushka domovoi* ('grandfather of the house'), which evidently represents the soul of an ancestor. In White Russia, one of the most primitive parts of the Slav world, ancestor-worship is prevalent at the present day. In the 16th cent. the Polish poet Klonowicz, in a Latin poem entitled 'Roxolania,' described the offerings which were brought to the graves:

... Mos est morientum poscere Manes.
Portari tepidos ad monumenta cibos.
Creduntur volucres vesci nidoribus umbræ
Ridiculaque fide carne putantur ali.

The peasants of White Russia give the name of *dziady* ('ancestors') to the souls of dead relatives, even in the case of children who died in infancy. Feasts of an absolutely pagan kind are held in their honour. They are invited to eat, and a spoonful or a part of each dish is taken and put into a special vessel. This vessel is placed on the ledge of the window. The meal ends with an address to the ancestors, who are then advised to go back to the sky (see art. ARYAN RELIGION). It is these rites that the Polish poet Mickiewicz has described so well in his poem on the *Dziady* ('The Ancestors'). On the other hand, in Bohemia, vessels which must have contained food have been found in pagan (probably Slav) graves. These had evidently been placed there for the use of the dead in the life beyond the tomb. The kindred Letto-Lithuanians also had special deities of the dead—Kapu mâte and Wella mâte amongst the Letts, and Vielona amongst the Lithuanians. Sacrifices were offered not only to Vielona as goddess of the dead, but also to Zemyna, the Lithuanian earth-goddess (cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, pp. 104-105, 107-108). It is furthermore noteworthy that the Lithuanians offered sacrifices to the dead on the anniversary of their decease, when, after a formal prayer to them, water and food were cast beneath the table of the feast in their honour, and lights were placed on it even at mid-day (Brückner, *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, ix. 33). See also art. ARYAN RELIGION.

LITERATURE.—Kotlarevsky, *The Funeral Rites of the Pagan Slavs* (in Russian), 2nd ed., St. Petersburg, 1891; L. Leger, *La Mythologie slave*, Paris, 1901.

L. LEGER.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Teutonic).—There is abundant evidence for Manes-worship among all Teutonic peoples. As a rule, however, the authorities give no indication that participation in the rites was confined to descendants and relatives of the deceased, though it is not unlikely that the worship referred to in such passages as *Indic. Superstitionum*, Tit. 1 ('De sacrilegio ad sepulchra mortuorum'), was generally of this variety. In Scandi

navian lands also we hear of worship paid to kings and other distinguished men, apparently at or near their tombs, but here again the cult appears to have been shared by the dead man's subjects or dependants.

Perhaps the nearest approach to strict ancestor-worship is to be found in the records of the colonists of Iceland, who believed that all members of their families would pass after death into certain hills. They regarded these places with special reverence, and constructed sacrificial shrines there. Again, the element of ancestor-worship may be said to enter into the cult of certain gods, from whom most royal families, in England as well as in the North, claimed descent. Yet in the case of deities whose cult was wide-spread, such as that of Woden-Othin (by far the most frequent case), it would be unsafe to assume that this was the original element. On the other hand, deities whose worship was more or less local, like Þórgestr Hólgabrúðr, may very well have been regarded originally as ancestral spirits. In this connexion account is to be taken also of the *hamingiur*, or guardian-spirits of families, who are represented as similar to valkyries or warrior maidens.

Lastly, mention must be made of the *erfi*—a word which in other Teutonic languages means inherited property, but in Scandinavian a wake or feast in honour of a dead person, especially the head of the house. Such feasts were often held on an immense scale, and many hundreds of persons invited. Large quantities of ale were then drunk in memory of the deceased—whence the banquet was also called *erfi-öl*, a name which survived until recently in the northern English word *arval*. Towards the close of the feast the heir was for the first time allowed to occupy the vacant high seat. At religious festivals also it was customary to drink to departed relatives as well as to the gods.

The Cult of the Dead among the Teutons will be fully described under art. ARYAN RELIGION.

LITERATURE.—Göthter, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 90 ff.; Mogk, in Paul, *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*³, Straßburg, 1900, iii. 249 ff.; Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, p. 69 ff.; Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, p. 259 ff.

H. M. CHADWICK.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Ugro-Finnic).—Ancestor-worship and cult of the dead is, so far as we can judge, the oldest form of religion among the Ugro-Finnic peoples. It is almost the only form common to them all. Their places of sacrifice frequently stand in close proximity to their places of burial; their images are chiefly representations of the dead; their offerings are to be explained by the needs (food, clothes, etc.) of the dead; and their whole system of magic seems in the main to aim at a union with the spirits of the dead. See artt. FINNS, LAPPS, MORDVINIANS, OSTIAKS.

KAARLE KROHN.

ANDAMANS.—I. The Country and the People.—The Andamans form the Northern portion of a string of islands, seven hundred miles long (the Nicobars forming the Southern portion), stretching across the Eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, between Cape Negrais in Burma and Achin Head in Sumatra. Certain physiological facts, in combination with phenomena exhibited by the fauna and flora of the respective terminal countries, have long been held to point to the former existence of a continuous range of mountains, thought to be sub-aerial, between these two points. Assuming this opinion to be correct, the Andamans are, in their present condition, the summits of a submarine range, connected with the Arakan Yoma range of Burma, which has, at some time or other, become almost wholly submerged by a volcanic

subsidence. This range need not have been more than the physically possible one of two hundred fathoms, to connect a long narrow peninsula jutting out from the Burma coast with the present Andaman group of islands.

These considerations are of importance for the present purpose, as, according to Portman (see Literature below), the tradition of the South Andaman, or Bojignglji, group of tribes is that Maia Tomola, the ancestral chief of the nation from which they all sprang, dispersed them after a cataclysm, which caused a subsidence of parts of a great island, divided it up into the present Andaman Islands, and drowned large numbers of the old inhabitants, together with many large and fierce beasts that have since disappeared. He also notes, as tending to show the junction of the Andaman Islands with the mainland, that, besides the South Andaman tradition, the people of the Little Andaman have names for animals that do not now exist and which they cannot describe.

Lying as they do in the track of a great commerce, which has gone on for at least two thousand years, both from China and Japan westwards and from the Levant and India eastwards, the existence of the Andamans has been reported probably from the days of Ptolemy (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1885, p. 236) under a variety of names, representing some form of *Andaman*, meaning a 'monkey' people, and indicating the savage aboriginal antagonists of the more civilized early population of India. As early as the 9th cent. the inhabitants of the islands were quite untruly described by Arab travellers as cannibals (Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, 1845, i. 8)—a mistake that seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could seize on his landing, as one of the tribes does still; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused in ignorant mariners' minds by such occurrences in a far land, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result. This is a consideration of cardinal importance, as this false charge led to the Andamans being left severely alone until 1857 (except for a brief period between 1789 and 1796), when the British Government was forced to take steps to put a stop to murders of shipwrecked crews by occupying the islands. The result is that there exists in the Andamans an aboriginal people uncontaminated by outside influences, whose religious ideas are of native growth and exhibit the phenomena of a truly untutored philosophy.

The Andamanese are naked pigmy savages, as low in civilization as almost any known upon earth, though close observation of them discloses the immense distance in mental development between them and the highest of the brute beasts, one most notable fact being that they eat nothing raw, cooking all their food, however slightly, and making pots for the purpose, and this from time immemorial. Their various tribes belong to one race, speaking varieties of one fundamental isolated language. They are the relics of a bygone Negrito population now represented by themselves, the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula, and the Aetas of the Philippines (these last two being much mixed with the surrounding peoples), who in very ancient times occupied the south-eastern portion of the Asiatic Continent and its outlying islands before the irruptions of the oldest of peoples whose existence, or traces of it, can now be found there. In this view the Andamanese are of extreme interest, as preserving in their persons and customs, owing to an indefinite number of centuries of complete isolation, the last pure remnant of the oldest kind of man in existence.